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SPARK



'From a Spark Shall Arise a Flame'

THEORETICAL ORGAN OF THE MARXIST WORKERS LEAGUE

VOL. I No. 1

FEBRUARY, 1933

15c

THE IMPERIALIST WAR IN SPAIN



A SPLIT IN THE WEISBORD GROUP



VARGAS: PUPPET OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM



OUTLINE DRAFT PROGRAM
OF MARXIST WORKERS LEAGUE



A LETTER FROM MEXICO



DEM. DICTATORSHIP VS. DICT. OF PROLETARIAT

Labor Donated

.....Declaration of Editorial Board.....

Iskra was the name Lenin called his paper. Not through dictionaries but through action was Lenin able to translate the meaning of this word into the language of all world's oppressed. We are adopting the name of Lenin's paper, the Spark, not because we are so fond of the name, but because the name means something to us; it means the resurrection of Leninism. We hope that from this Spark shall rise a flame- the flame of workers revolution.

The Marxist Workers League was founded as a result of a split within the Oehler group. (Revolutionary Workers League). The split, as the articles explain took place on the most important question of the day- the Spanish war. It would be wrong, however, to say that what was involved in the split was only the disagreement on Spain. To deal with the Spanish question means to deal with the general war position, means to deal with the question of fascism, the state, united front, etc. It is impossible to have a false position on Spain and at the same time to have a correct position on any of these questions. All these questions are so closely interlinked that it is impossible to separate them. To be wrong on the Spanish war means to open the door wide open to social- patriotism in the coming world imperialist war. That is exactly what the Oehler group is doing. Any organization having a false position on such a fundamental question as war ceases to be Marxist and passes over to the camp of the class enemy. We are proud that we split from such a centrist outfit.

Some people will say: the war in Spain will soon be over and what will you do next? How will you distinguish yourself from the other parties and groups? They fail to understand that it is not simply a question of Spain alone. Spain presents to us certain lessons. The future positions of all groups and parties will be based on the lessons of Spain. Failing to draw the correct lessons out of Spain dooms these organizations in the future to opportunism. Would the Bolsheviks have been able to build a Marxist vanguard if they had not drawn correct lessons out of the imperialist world war? Absolutely not!

After the Marxist Workers League was founded there also took place a split within the Weisbord group, the Friends of the Class Struggle. These comrades, agreeing with the fundamental position on Spain, joined the Marxist Workers League and together with the original group of comrades are concentrating their main efforts to help build a Marxist vanguard.

The League is now in the process of working out a full program on all important principles as well as tactical questions. We are publishing in this issue the draft program on some of the questions. Discussion on the program will be carried on openly and we will not attempt to conceal any serious differences if we find they exist.

We do not intend to utilize our publication as an exchange house for various views. On the contrary we shall conduct it along the lines of a strictly, defined tendency. But while explaining to the workers our own point of view, we shall at the same time leave our publication open to polemics between different comrades of other tendencies. Polemics, however, will not become the dominant feature of our organ.

(continued on next page)

The Spark

This issue of the paper deals mainly with international questions. Only too well do we realize that to continue talking about world events without concentrating our efforts on solving the problems affecting the American working class, would mean becoming estranged from the American workers. We must and we shall discuss problems facing the United States. Our slogan now as ever is: the main enemy is at home- American imperialism. The other issues of the Spark will give answers to problems of the coming American revolution.

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Note: We have been delayed in securing a Post Office box address. The next issue will definitely carry one. We therefore ask all those who wish to communicate with us to write to the following address:

John I. Light

General Delivery

New York City, New York

THE IMPERIALIST WAR IN SPAIN

Only once in history have we seen an imperialist war transformed into a civil war. That was true of Russia in 1917. Spain presents us a new phenomenon- the transformation of a civil war into an imperialist war. People who go by Webster's dictionary to find out the meaning of civil war will become astonished and wonder how a war "within a country" can be called an imperialist war. Marxists whose compass is not geography but the class struggle can quite easily explain this latest phenomenon.

The criterion which guides us to our answer is the criterion which guided Lenin. The two important questions which Lenin asked himself in order to determine the character of the war, we ask ourselves now: who pursues the war and what are the aims of the war? But before we deal with the present character of the war, it is first necessary to delve into some past history.

The war did not start because the bourgeoisie chose to have it so. The growing militancy of the Spanish workers threatening to engulf Spain in the flames of proletarian revolution had its repercussions in the enemy camp of the bourgeoisie. Differences among the bourgeoisie arose. Although there were undoubtedly economic antagonisms among the two factions of the bourgeoisie, that for the moment was set aside so as to be able to confront the workers danger. The differences that arose consisted in this: the Franco section of the bourgeoisie thought that the time was ripe to strike a decisive blow at the working class. The "democratic" section was of the opinion that not iron fist methods but a period of "democracy" was needed so as to corrupt the working class; demoralize it and in this manner prepare for the decisive blow. The Franco section refused to abide by the "discipline" of the Peoples Front government- the executive committee of the capitalist class- and struck out with armed force. The working class, not waiting for any orders, responded. It was a spontaneous movement. Within a few days the workers were in control of the streets. They organized their own militia, their own police force, committees of action, revolutionary tribunals. Transportation, communication were taken over by the workers. The capitalist "law and order" was replaced with workers law and order. All this was done not with the help of the Peoples Front government but AGAINST it. The struggle against the fascists did not assume a struggle for "democracy" but a struggle for workers power. The fight against the fascists became a class war.

The Barrios cabinet realizing the danger tried to negotiate a "peace" with Franco. But then it was already too late. The working class "got out of hand" and nothing could restrain it. The "democratic" bourgeoisie realized therefore that it couldn't go against the stream but had to go with it. It put on an anti-fascist mask, placed itself at the head of the movement, only to behead it.

What we were witnessing in the first period of the war was a struggle of the working class against the boss class, against the "democratic" as well as fascist bourgeoisie. It must be remembered that the factories the workers seized were not on fascist territory but on "democratic" territory; that the land the peasants seized were within "loyalist" boundaries, and the custom houses the workers committees took over were not fascist but "democratic".

The period of dual power began with the very first day of the war. The "democratic" bourgeoisie was powerless in face of the onslaught of the working class forces. The official Peoples Front government couldn't make a move without the workers' approval. Passports were issued by the workers committees. In some border towns control was completely in the hands of the workers. The war was prosecuted by the working class and the aims therefore were working class aims. The character the war took on in these days was one of a civil war of classes and demanded the active support of the entire world working class.

It was at that time that the "liberal" bourgeoisie sabotaged the war—a war which was not in their interest and which they did not control. In Marxist terminology this is what is known as reactionary defeatism. They worked for the military defeat of the workers armies at the front. Wherever they could, they sold out. In this manner the cities of Irun and San Sebastian were given up. It was because of the Peoples Front betrayal that the miners were unable to take Oviedo.

Lack of a Marxist Party doomed the Spanish workers to failure. Gradually, with the aid of their lackeys, the Stalinists-Socialist-Anarchist-POUM combination, the bourgeoisie was able to regain control of things. The workers militias were dissolved and in their place was ushered in a centralized capitalist army. Workers police were abolished and once again the hated assault guards patrolled the streets. The revolutionary Peoples Tribunals which tried counter-revolutionaries were liquidated and the regular arm of the capitalists, the State xxx courts came upon the scene. From then on revolutionists were tried. Control of customs houses were taken away from the workers committees and handed over to the bourgeoisie machine. Collectivization was stopped. Factories were gradually returned to their owners. This all marked the liquidation of dual power.

Thus the taking of the war out of the workers hands and placing it in the hands of the bourgeoisie was not the result of one day. It was a process. There are people, who, trying to avoid the fact that the character of the war has changed, demand of us in no mild language: give us a date when the war became an imperialist war. To such people, who do not see events as a process but as a one day occurrence, we will patiently try to give a Marxian dialectical explanation.

When the working class in the July days was beginning to take things into its own hands, it forgot one important task— it forgot to smash the old capitalist state apparatus. It allowed the old rotten capitalist state to exist side by side with the dual power of the workers. Because the bourgeois state was not smashed, it was therefore possible for the capitalist state to reconsolidate itself, regain its positions, transform the character of the war— all this in a relatively peaceful manner.

Some fronts the bourgeoisie regained control of quicker than others. In Valencia, where the working class movement was always to the right, the bourgeoisie was able to set up its own capitalist army and immediately dissolve the workers militia. In Madrid and Aragon the process was more difficult. There, through "centralization", by means of merging the armed forces, the bourgeoisie gradually established its control. In worst cases it was forced to disarm the workers. Not too

infrequently, in order to eliminate them from the scene, were workers militias thrown into pre-arranged lost battles, only to be slaughtered. Thus today we are able to see Loyalist Spain having the most centralized, disciplined, trained bourgeois army. Whereas a few months ago remnants of the workers militias still existed, now even these are gone.

Spanish Republican forces are ready now, according to their commanders, to meet any attack from the rebels thrust for thrust, and more than that, to take them by surprise with a huge mobile army." (NY Times, Dec. 19, 1937)

The author of these lines does not deal with the question of control of the army. He takes for granted that the bourgeoisie is in control. He already has gone beyond that stage. Now it is a question how effective this army is, how its defensive powers are, and more important, its attacking power. To speak of the working class carrying on a civil war of classes without its own armed forces is to revise Marxism completely.

The question will be asked: "But if, as you say, the imperialist conflicts have replaced the civil war, why does the war still continue?" If the questionnaire were to ponder over his own question he would readily arrive at the answer. The very fact that the war continues under bourgeois hegemony and that the fight instead of being diminished grows more intense, is proof enough that the two bourgeois factions have opposing interests thus making the continuation not only possible but imperative. To pose it more concisely: when the workers struggle was uppermost, the "democratic" bourgeoisie subordinated its conflict with the Juan March- Franco gang of robbers, and did everything possible to sabotage the war. But now when the working class struggle is pushed to the background, the loyalists can well afford to fight it out with the opposing capitalist faction. In this manner it kills off the cream of the crop of the working class movement. Thus it also solves its unemployed problem. And what is more important, capitalist Spain, if either side gains a decisive victory, as a result of the war, will emerge as a European power to be reckoned with.

Let us cite a few quotations to prove what the fight in Spain is now about: "Others, however, believe he (Franco) must know his forces are not strong enough to take Madrid, and that he will try something much easier— perhaps a drive on Almeria or against the Almaden mercury mines, which the Italians particularly covet, as it would give them a world monopoly of the mineral." (New York Times, Sept. 25, 1937)

This quotation speaks for itself. It takes the breath away from those who claim that there exists a civil war of classes. And if the reader were not convinced with this alone, we will offer another quotation to prove our contention.

"Rich deposits of lead, copper, iron, and coal situated in and around Penarroya, forty miles northwest of Cordoba, is the prize for which the Rebels and Loyalists have struggled for the last three months." (New York Times, Oct. 29, 1937)

Will there be a truce between the Fascists and the Peoples Front gov't? Yes and no. The two bourgeois factions might go on battling each other.

for quite a period of time, precisely because the workers danger is eliminated. The ties they have with different great imperialist powers and the special advantages, favors, concessions, that each group will get from its imperialist ally makes it imperative for each group to continue the war. Each side is now busy working its hardest to get a decisive victory over the other and in this way obtain the whole Spanish economy under its control. Precisely because the workers danger has been eliminated, can they go on fighting each other for the control of the nation. According to the Trotskyists and their left tinge, the Oehlerites, "as soon as the workers revolution is liquidated there will be a truce, failing completely to take into account the imperialist struggle, the different economic interests the two bourgeois factions have being allies to different imperialist powers. In the first period of the war, when the character of the war was a civil war of classes, the "democratic" bourgeoisie's main interest was to slacken the fight. (giving up Irun and San Sebastian) Today, however, the character of the war having changed, it can organize military offensives and really make a hard attempt to win the war.

Witness the latest capture of Teruel by the Loyalist government. Those who claim that there exists a civil war and therefore conclude that the Peoples Front is sabotaging the war, are confronted with military offensives which shatter their entire social patriotic position. Facts are stubborn things. Life is daily exposing the falseness of the position of these centrists.

The Oehlerites have an entirely unattainable position. They completely lack an understanding as to the relation between imperialist war and civil war. To quote one of their greatest confusionists, Hugo Oehler: "The present situation in Spain is characterized by a civil war of classes and an imperialist conflict, with the imperialist conflict having the upper hand, but the antagonisms between communism and capitalism decisive." (Oct. issue of Fourth International)

Greater confusion could not have come forth from one who claims to be a theoretical leader. According to Oehler, "the imperialist conflicts have the upper hand" and yet it is not an imperialist war!! What then makes an imperialist war? Can there be an imperialist war when the working class struggle has the upper hand? Obviously not. Not even Oehler will say that. What then, according to the centrist Oehler, makes the struggle in Spain a civil war of classes? "Because the fundamental struggle is between the working class and capitalism" replies Oehler. But that is always true even in normal "peaceful" times. That was true during the World War. The class struggle did not disappear then. What made possible the carrying on of the imperialist World War was precisely the fact that the imperialist conflicts had the upper hand; precisely because the working class struggle was subordinated, was pushed to the background. Ah, but let us dig a little deeper and we shall find the "error" (read: opportunism) of Oehlerism, an "error" which lays the basis for the support of a future world war.

"The Spanish struggle is more than MERELY an imperialist conflict. In claiming it is merely an imperialist war, the ultra-lefts ignore some of the most economic forces and class relations of present day society" (Nov. 1937 issue of the Fourth International -our emphasis)

You see, the Spanish war is an imperialist war, but it is not merely that. It is something else also. And what is the something else it has? We were quick in guessing! It is also a civil war of classes. Did you ever hear "logic" like this? Unlike Lenin's teaching that a war is either this OR that, we are told by Oehler that a war is this AND that. Suppose we grant Oehler that it is both. We want to know, however, which dominates? What is uppermost? He is kind enough to tell us that the imperialist conflicts dominate. What then, we beg to know, is the character of a war in which the imperialist conflicts dominate? And Oehler answers us: "fundamentally a civil war of classes". To this we readily reply, that such "logic" and "theory" paves the way for the support of a world imperialist slaughter!!!

Every struggle within society is only another form of class war. When the bourgeoisie is able to subordinate the class struggle to the background, it can then carry on its imperialist war. What exists in such a situation are not two combined things: imperialist war and civil war. The character that the war takes in such a situation is an imperialist one. Only when the working class transforms the character of that war can one speak of the war being fundamentally a civil war of classes. To speak of the "Civil War and the imperialist conflicts in Spain" would be correct only if the struggle in Spain was essentially a class war, in which the imperialist powers would benefit in a secondary sense, as they did in relation to the civil war in Russia. But to say that the imperialist conflicts have the upper hand, and then to turn around and call it a civil war of classes, is not to understand the relationship between imperialist war and civil war.

According to Oehler imperialist war and civil war can exist side by side in an open form. What he is preaching therefore is not a complete break with the war, but "strengthening" the civil war "aspect" of the war and "weakening" the imperialist aspect. What the Oehlerites stand for is not the transformation of this capitalist slaughter into civil war of classes but a gradual growing over of this war into class war. Logically therefore they cannot advocate the disruption of the Peoples Front armies, but its reform, its "being overnight captured by Soviets" How contrary to what history taught us!! - that when a capitalist army is engaged in actual warfare, the only way of disrupting that army is to work for its defeat. All talk about the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie being more "decisive" and therefore "the necessity of intensifying the anti-fascist struggle" only helps to cover up the fact that the workers in Spain are giving their lives for the capitalists. As opposed to the formulation of all "left" supporters of the war that "the war and the revolution are inseparable" the Marxists must answer: war OR revolution, i.e; revolution AGAINST the war!!!

We are devoting so much space to the Oehlerites for two reasons. First, because we recently split from these opportunists and secondly, as we shall see later, their talk is more dangerous than the Trotskyist or others. They are masters in the art of "left" phraseology.

Says Oehler further in the same article: "Instead of ONLY an imperialist war, the class aspect of the imperialist conflicts as well as in the coming imperialist war (he means World War) is heightened instead of diminished because it is decay capitalism." (his own emphasis)

What is Oehler driving at? Let us analyze the dangerous poison contained in this sentence. Here Oehler is not talking about Spain in particular.

but of imperialist wars in general. Unlike "in the period of developing capitalism when imperialist expansion took place to a higher degree with less CLASS conflict", in the decay stage of capitalism, says Oehler, "the CLASS STRUGGLE aspect drives toward the surface" (his own emphasis). Therefore, he concludes, that since this is the case, since the "class aspect of the imperialist conflict is heightened" the wars from now on won't be ONLY imperialist wars. And since he supports the war in Spain on the ground that "it is not ONLY an imperialist war" he will support future wars on the same basis. Some people will think that quite possible Oehler made a mistake in writing. No, this is not the case!! We shall quote further to prove that it forms a fundamental line.

"In Eiffel's Plenum resolution we cannot find any quotation where the July revolutionary upsurge of 1936 has been decisively defeated that made possible the transformation of the war into a PURE imperialist war" (his own emphasis). Oehler is seeking a pure imperialist war, and needless to say, he'll never find such a thing. In every imperialist war the "imperialist conflicts have the upper hand" and "the antagonism between communism and capitalism being decisive", and since that therefore makes it an impure imperialist war, Oehler will continue supporting it. So the social patriots go to the camp of the social-patriots, the Trotskyists.

An attempt to analyze the character of the war is made by the Trotskyists. Says Burnham (Socialist Appeal, October 2, 1937): "The DOMINANT character of the struggle is that of CIVIL WAR in form of a war between bourgeois democracy and Fascism, in substance a defense of the Spanish workers and peasants of their rights and positions against the certain annihilation of these by the victory of Franco."

We must give the devil the credit due to him. At least the Trotskyists understand that if the war is to be called a civil war, the dominant character cannot be the imperialist conflicts. Understanding this elementary truth, does not prevent them, however, from being good opportunists. Look how opportunists pose the question! It is a civil war, not between the working class and the capitalists - no no! - they have completely revised the Marxist definition of a civil war and have invented a new, brand new definition: "A civil war in form of a war between bourgeois democracy and fascism". Could there have been any greater revisionism during the last decade? The worst of reformists, the social-democrats never even dared to say that a "struggle" between two forms of capitalist rule is what characterizes a civil war. Mark ye, if these same people will not repeat the same trash in a war between a "democratic" imperialist power and a fascist imperialist power!! Why, already, during "the Lord's day of peace - Christmas", Schachtman gives us warning that "to proclaim for peace in France (during war time) would mean leaving the Soviet Union in the lurch... after all, the French soldiers are nothing more than workers in uniform." (Schachtman's lecture on Nov. 16, 1937) But we are getting away from the point; we must return to it as quickly as possible lest we forget the crux of the matter.

These brilliant "Marxists" forget to explain to the workers one important thing. And it is no accident why they don't touch on this question. Why should bourgeois democracy wage such a bitter war against France? Is it in order to defend the working class organizations against fascism? It is precisely this question which the Trotskyists dare not touch, for fear it would expose their entire opportunism. They are afraid to tell the workers that bourgeois democracy is not fighting to protect the workers organizations but is utilizing these organizations in its economic struggle against France.

The answer these opportunists have: the Peoples Front is fighting not because it wants to; but because it is forced by the workers to fight. From this they deduce that the Peoples Front is therefore sabotaging the war. Nothing could be further away from the truth than this kind of argument.

First we must make it clear that the workers are not holding the bourgeois democrats prisoners, but the opposite is true. Secondly, it is not the working class which is conducting the war, but the bourgeoisie. And thirdly, and most important, the "liberal" bourgeoisie is not sabotaging the war but is actively prosecuting it; not in the interests of the workers, not to defend democracy, but to conquer Spanish economy for itself and to preserve the alliance with Anglo-French imperialism.

Those who claim that what is taking place today in Spain is a "three-cornered" struggle ("the democratic bourgeoisie vs. the fascist bourgeoisie and the proletariat vs. both") are substituting wishes for facts. The only correct way of stating facts, not wishes, is to say that the proletariat instead of fighting against both factions of the ruling class, is fighting for one against the other. To compare therefore the Kornilev days with the present Spanish situation is to be blind to events. The war against Kornilev was a class war, in which the working class fought independently, with its own organs of power Soviet and with its own workers militia, against both sections of the bourgeoisie (against Kornilev and Kerensky). In Spain it is just the opposite.

Social patriots have many arguments to justify their support of the war. One of their cleverest is this: "It is necessary to fight on two fronts at once; for the defeat of capitalism in its fascist form at the front and its democratic form at the rear." From this they conclude: "the main enemy at the front are the fascists and the main enemy at the rear is the Peoples Front." Well, well, well!! How tricky this argument is. Let us analyze it.

Why in "heaven's name" can't one use the same "logic" in a war between Germany and France or between any other two countries? Using this "logic" one can say: "German capitalism is attacking at the front, therefore let us fight it. At the same time we must fight French capitalism in the rear. In this manner we'll defeat both at the same time." Against such "logic" one need not waste much time arguing. It is sufficient to remark that in advocating the fight at the front, one is in reality aiding "his own" government. Every victory that he will score against German capitalism at the front will aid French capitalism in the rear. The same applies for Spain. Every victory of the Peoples Front government at the front only helps to strengthen its rule in the rear.

One cannot fight the Peoples Front at the rear if one advocates the prosecution of the war. To be able to prosecute the war presupposes the feeding of the troops, presupposes the shipment of arms to the front. ANY STRIKE IN THE REAR WHICH PREVENTS THE FRONT FROM OBTAINING THESE MATERIALS MEANS THE SABOTAGE OF THE WAR. Those who therefore are for the continuance of the war against France must logically declare themselves opposed to strikes in the rear. If they continue advocating the continuance of the war and at the same time call for strikes in the rear, that is their contradiction.

The Spanish Trotskyists drew the logic of their position and here is in what strike breaking position they found themselves in. During the May

Days uprising they issued the following leaflet to the barricade fight part of which said: "General Strike in all industries excepting those connected with the prosecution of the war." Which industries during war time aren't connected with the prosecution of the war? Since all industries are, the logic would therefore be: no strikes. In this manner it becomes clearer every day that social patriotism is irreconcilable with class struggle.

One important reason for the failure of the Barcelona May 3rd. uprising consisted precisely in the fact that the workers were not able to separate the war from the revolution. Some of the regiments from the front on hearing the news of the uprising, began to return to Barcelona to aid their class brothers. The traitorous Anarchist and POUM leadership met them on the way advising them to go back to the front, since their return "would mean leaving the front open to the fascists." Not so with the bourgeois! Realizing the greater danger, they withdrew reactionary troops from the front and sent them into Barcelona to drown the uprising. A Marxist vanguard would have given the Barcelona fighters correct slogans. It would have told the soldiers at the front that since the counter revolution now conducts the war, the war is no more theirs; that they have no business fighting, that instead they should desert the front and go to Barcelona to crush Companys. Like an echo, Liebknechts slogan would have rung through the streets: Down with the war! Long live the revolution!

Do we tell the workers to fight at the front? No! The workers duty is to disrupt this capitalist front. Were we to tell the workers to fight at the front we would only be helping the government in its military conscription law. To advocate that the workers fight at the present capitalist front and then to add: "but create workers militia" is a contradiction in itself. In essence this would mean to place the worker under capitalist army discipline and then to turn around asking them to rebel against that very same discipline we just placed them under. Counterposed to this confusionism, the Marxist Workers League raises this cry: those oppressed by the Peoples Front work for the military defeat of "their" army and "their" government. Those oppressed under Franco work for the defeat of "their" regime and army.

No neutral position in this struggle is possible. Either one stands for the victory or for the defeat of the Peoples Front armies. Either one stands for its sabotage or for its support. To be against material aid to the Peoples Front government and at the same time to oppose sabotage, is to be illogical. To pose it concretely: a vote for the military budget is the best material aid one can give the Peoples Front government (just like telling the workers to fight at the front is the best material aid the government can obtain). Those who are for material aid will have to vote for the military budget. Those who are for sabotage will vote against it. But those who are for "neither sabotage nor support" will abstain. Abstention in such a case means support in the deepest sense of the term.

With what clarity and precision Lenin argued against the social-patriot "Revolution in war time is Civil War. TRANSFORMATION of wars between GOVERNMENTS into civil war is on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses (defeats) of the government; on the other hand it is IMPOSSIBLE to strive in practice towards such a transformation without at the same time working towards military defeat." (The Imperialist War, pg 198

This is the policy we advocate today for Spain. Everything, all talk about revolution, all radical phrases are just sheer fakery if one does not work for the revolutionary defeat of one's "own" government.

A defeat of the Peoples Front armies, hastening the revolution in that manner, will not only mean the overthrow of the Peoples Front bourgeoisie but also a heavy blow against the Franco section. Just like a defeat of the Russian armies, facilitating the victorious revolution, did not only mean the defeat of Russia, but also the disintegration of the German armies and a revolution in Germany.

Fraternization between the Peoples Front soldiers and the Franco soldiers is a tactic used to disrupt and disintegrate both capitalist armies. What are we fighting for? is a question the soldiers of both armies will ask each other. For whom are we fighting? It is at this time that the slogan for peace is appropriate. The slogan of peace during war time is a slogan leading to Civil War. During "peace" time this slogan is pacifist and used by every faker. It is treason to advocate peace in Spain today. We agree it is treason, only not to the proletariat but to the bourgeoisie. We are for peace, not the kind of peace that will come about after the war is ended, which can only mean an imperialist peace. We are for a peace that puts a stop to the present slaughter of worker by worker, a peace which will result in turning the guns against both fascist and Republican generals, a peace that will start the workers revolution, that will tell them to stop fighting at the present capitalist front and instead go back home to seize the land and factories. Does that mean telling them to drop their guns? No! We tell them to keep their guns, not to fight each other, but unite as one force to overthrow both oppressors.

As far as we know, all of the "working class" Parties existing in Spain have tied themselves to the chariot of social patriotism. Each party manages to betray the workers in its own way. Parties like the Stalinists and Socialists proclaim their betrayals openly and do not hesitate to shoot down the workers in cold blood. Others, like the Anarchists, POUM and Trotskyists do the same job in the name of the "workers revolution." The Oehlerite controlled "left wing" of the POUM was born on a social patriotic line. The only reason why its open betrayal hasn't come to the surface is precisely because its activities haven't as yet come to the surface.

The task today, as it was yesterday, is to create a Marxist Party capable of warning the workers against the deceptions of the bourgeoisie. As a beginning, the task of those aiming to build the new party is immediately to tell the workers: this war which you have started is no more yours; it is being waged against your interests. Born in the struggle against the Spanish imperialist war, the new party will have a chance to survive and lead the workers to victory. On any other platform, it rather not be born at all; for its very foundation can only be social-patriotic. The first and foremost condition for the regroupment of the Marxist vanguard is a sharp, unhesitant political and organizational break with all varieties of opportunism. Any talk of unity with any of the existing "workers" parties means treachery to the working class, means going over to the side of the enemy class. Talk of reforming these parties can only tend to create more illusions in the minds of the workers. Now the time is ripe for the building of a Marxist Party in Spain!!! Workers are becoming tired of the war, bread riots are occurring. Utilizing these things we can advance. Undoubtedly, the work

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will be hard at first. But the test of a Marxist in these days consists precisely in whether he is able to swim against the current. Forward! We are on the march!!

BREAK WITH THE SPANISH IMPERIALIST WAR!!

TRANSFORM IT INTO A CIVIL WAR!!!

FOR REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM!

BREAK WITH REFORMISM AND CENTRISM!

FOR A MARXIST PARTY IN SPAIN!

DOWN WITH THE WAR! LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!!!

Dec. 1937

Karl Mienov

ON REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

Much confusion prevails in these days as to what the meaning of revolutionary defeatism is. This confusion is purposely engendered by the Trotskyists who are trying to put over a Stalinist line while still clinging to "radical" phrases. Claiming to follow Leninism they at the same time throw the content out of Lenin's idea leaving it a hollow shell. The question of revolutionary defeatism is again coming to the forefront, especially at a time when the war danger becomes more acute. The crux of the matter is: the relation of Marxists to a war in which imperialist countries are allied to the Soviet Union against another bloc of imperialists. What is the duty of Marxists in such a case? Let us quote what Trotsky has to say:

"In France I would remain in opposition to the government and would develop systematically this opposition. In Germany I would do anything I could to sabotage the war machinery. THEY ARE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS." (Case of Leon Trotsky, page 290- our emphasis) We agree with Trotsky that to remain as President Lebrun's opposition and to sabotage the war machinery in Germany are two different things. The former action constitutes a support of the war covered up with left "opposition" while the latter action means translating opposition to war into concrete action. Someone might object: "But isn't Trotsky calling for defeatism in Germany." Sure, but so will the French generals call for military defeat of Germany. So did the French Socialists in the last world war call for the defeat of the German armies. The test, however, is how one acts at home, how one behaves towards his "own" government.

The U.S. Trotskyists are utilizing the low political development of their membership and are making the question even more "deeper" so as to more confuse their membership. "Revolutionary defeatism," they say, yes!! "Military defeats," no!! They have taken Lenin's slogan and have twisted it around to make it mean the opposite. To them revolutionary defeatism does not mean that we revolutionists work for the military defeat of

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"our" government by the opposing government. Revolutionary defeatism, they construe to mean, that we ourselves defeat the government, i.e., the overthrow of the government. Let us see how Lenin formulated this question:

"Revolution in war time is civil war. Transformation of war between governments into civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ("defeats") of the governments; on the other hand, it is impossible to strive in practice towards such a transformation without at the same time working toward military defeat." That is clear language.

Before one could even talk of making the revolution during war time, says Lenin, it is first necessary to work for the military defeat of one's "own" government. Transformation of imperialist war into civil war (read; making the revolution) is IMPOSSIBLE "without at the same time working towards military defeat." The Trotskyists, those impatient "revolutionists" are attempting to skip stages, which in reality means getting away further from the goal. "Of what need is there to work for the military defeat of our government when one can immediately make the revolution?" is a question an innocent Trotskyist asks, not realizing that in this manner of work he will never get to see the revolution. With this innocent rank and file it is a question of lack of understanding. But with Trotsky and Co. it is a matter of opportunism. These leaders aren't blind, they just don't give a damn!!

It is significant that in France Trotsky would only offer political opposition, that is, he would talk for the sake of talking without proposing any concrete action. How can one even approach the revolution in such a manner? If a load of ammunition was destined to the front and if Trotsky had influence among the railroad workers, would he tell them to sabotage that shipment? No! Heaven forbid!! He would talk to them how awful the war is, what misery it is creating, but concrete action to stop it, oh, no, that already means to divert from the path of political opposition. Such is the logic of a social-patriot.

Once more we will quote Lenin on this question to expose the utter bankruptcy of Trotsky and Co: "The only policy of a real, not verbal; breaking of civil peace, of accepting the class struggle, is for the proletariat to take advantage of the difficulties of the government and its bourgeoisie with the aim of overthrowing them. This, however, cannot be achieved, it cannot be striven at, without wishing the defeat of one's own government, without contributing to such a defeat." Again Lenin makes clear that all talk about overthrowing the government is a sheer play with phrases unless one works for the defeat of "his" own government. What has this got in common with Trotsky's verbiage about "political opposition"? "The opponents of the defeat slogan are simply afraid of themselves when they do not wish to realize the most obvious fact of the inseparable connection between revolutionary propaganda against the government and actions leading to its defeat." (The Imperialist War, page 199- our emphasis) Just as in 1915 Lenin devoted a whole chapter to this question in which he exposed the "inflated phraseology with which Trotsky always justifies opportunism" (pg.197) so we today must tear the mask off Trotsky's face and expose the hidden social patriotism contained within Trotsky's "left" talk. No matter with whom the Soviet Union may be allied, the task of the proletariat in all capitalist countries engaged in war is to work for the defeat of "their" own government. Anything but that is betrayal.

K.M.

VARGAS- PUPPET OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The chain of imperialism is made of many links, the most important of which is American imperialism. In this stage of finance capital, the South American nations have loomed as an essential and necessary field for exploitation by the American capitalist class. The "luscious plum" of the South American nations, the one coveted most by the world imperialist powers, is Brazil. Recent events in Brazil have exposed the complexities of world imperialism and its true nature in action, affording to the Marxists an opportunity to view the significant, component parts of a whole decaying economy. By dissecting the "guinea pig", Brazil, we may bring to light some general and specific principles of finance capital, which will aid in sharpening the blade of workers' struggle against the world bourgeoisie.

The firm hold of American imperialism over Brazil was recently threatened by the invasion of the German compensated mark. It was possible through this trading device, the brain child of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, for Germany to secure for a time a field for German goods. The compensated mark assumes a quasi-barter form, by means of which the German bourgeoisie are enabled to make a two-fold and even a three-fold gain in this manner of trade. We may take Greece as illustrative of an important field of German compensated mark trade.

Let us assume that Germany buys a certain amount of raw material from Greece. She does not pay Greece in money or any other recognized form of exchange, but instead credits the amount of marks that this material is worth to Greece. The marks are held in Germany as frozen credit- it can be spent only in Germany, on German goods, at the price that Germany fixes. In other words, goods are exchanged for a like amount, dependent upon the objective conditions existing in Germany.

Further, a second advantage of the compensated mark, is that, in her trade with weaker nations, one of Germany's important exports is war material. Especially is this possible thru the strong hold of Thyssen and Krupp on German finances. After selling this war material to these nations, the difficulty of manipulating these war devices "necessitate" the aid of German military experts to demonstrate them. What follows is a closer political and military tie of the weaker nation to Germany in addition to the already existing economic relationship.

There is a third aspect of the compensated mark. Since it is a form of barter, and because it lacks a world exchange basis, the Reich must seek a method whereby she can secure exchange. Thus, Germany may buy more agricultural products from Greece than she can use. The "surplus" products (surplus only in the sense that the bourgeoisie cannot sell for profit while the oppressed starve) that Germany has purchased from Greece, is sold by the German bourgeoisie on the world market in competition with Grecian products! In her trade with other powers Germany is enabled to secure exchange values. The loss which she might sustain is made up by the German bourgeoisie from profits of sales of war material. Likewise the bourgeoisie receive subsidies from the capitalist German government.

The American bourgeoisie sensed the danger of the compensated mark. In a meeting with the US state department in Washington, Arthur Souza de Costa, finance minister of Brazil, proposed a new bank system whereby

the trade of two countries could be improved. This occurred on June 22, 1937. Mention was made at this meeting of the failure of US-Brazilian trade relations to reach previously estimated figures. Recognition of the influx in Brazil of the compensated mark was a significant note struck at this meeting.

Data was secured by the American Chamber of Commerce in Brazil demonstrating the ability of Germany to undersell the US because of the use of the compensated mark. In some cases Germany was selling manufactured goods from 7 1/2-35% cheaper than the US bourgeoisie. The movements of the US bourgeoisie to oust the Reich from Brazil now became rapid. On June 26, 1937, the announcement was made that the US was going to aid Brazil in the construction of three destroyers. To avoid any trace of impartiality, US officials stated that any other Latin-American country could have this same favor from the "generous" US bourgeoisie. It was understood, however, that since the construction of the ships was to take place in the Brazilian Navy Yards, and since no other country had the facilities of this kind except Argentina, that this aid would be limited to Brazil. (Argentina's ineligibility for US aid will be discussed later.) Further, said Washington, the technical aid would be furnished by the US, making Brazil, therefore, more dependent upon the United States.

The time had arrived for Germany to inform the world of its status upon the question. On July 12, the Reich press said that the US could not hope to replace Germany as the customer of Brazil. The latter depends too much on her cotton exports. The Reich hitherto had been a large customer of this product. To supplant Germany, therefore, the US would have to absorb a great deal of Brazil's cotton which would mean the sacrifice of US cotton. By this the German bourgeoisie were attempting to frighten the US out of Brazil!

The cotton problem, like other agrarian problems that the US industrialist is faced with, is easy to solve. The solution? - the sacrifice of agriculture to industry is the answer of the US bourgeoisie. The AAA and the present crop control program are the methods of the Rockefeller-Roosevelt regime. This is the reason for the success of Hull in his reciprocal treaties.- the sacrifice of agriculture to industry. The price is impoverishment of the rural population. The recent protests of the southern states may be viewed as the reaction of the large farmer to this policy of industry, but they are helpless before the onslaught of capital. The protests of the southern senators achieved little! Thus, the German bourgeoisie, when they threatened the US with dire consequences, were merely hopelessly objecting.

The US bourgeoisie continued its activities in Brazil. On July 16, the US agreed to sell Brazil up to \$60,000,000 worth of gold to stabilize the currency of Brazil. The price that Brazil had to pay was a promise to protect the market of US. Thus as the New York Times states, this "requires measures for stopping the expansion of German trade which recently in Brazil has been outbalancing that of the US under the special subsidized agreement entered into two years ago between Germany and Brazil and involving the use of blocked marks. In addition, Brazil undertakes to remove from her tariff laws, provisions which have operated against United States commerce."

Because of the compensated mark dealings, Brazil lacked enough gold

exchange to secure her currency. The US imperialists having an "in" on the world gold supply and with her currency relatively "stable", she could afford to lend some and thus bring greater pressure to bear upon Brazil to oust the German bourgeoisie.

As a result of the gold loan to Brazil, through the only existing US bank in Brazil, the National City Bank, the Rockefeller interests and their spokesman, FD Roosevelt, now obtained a headlock on the finances of Brazil. There was to be established a central reserve bank with the "aid" of US technical assistance, to improve the relations between the two countries. What was to follow was mere formality. There would be a joint US-Brazil trade commission- one in Rio de Janeiro, the other in Washington- to be established for the benefit of the signatories.

On July 20, the Reich bitterly attacked the actions of the US in Brazil. As quoted from the New York Times, it is especially interesting to note how, when desperate, the bourgeoisie will expose one another. Germany cries: "If the United States, besides her prohibitive tariffs for the protection of her industries feels special so called dumping tariffs, necessary though they are, contrary to complete unlimited most favored nation treatment, then that is the United State's business. It is extraordinary, however, that the United States should urge a nation like Brazil, which produces and exports raw material and foods, to prevent the importation of cheap industrial wares, though Brazil herself does not produce such goods."

The Reich bourgeoisie then "suddenly" becomes self-conscious: "In this declaration (the Hull-de Souza declaration in relation to the gold loan) one sentence is particularly important to Germany, which says Brazil will undertake to protect these principles and privileges against outside competition directly subsidized by a government. Even though Germany is not named in the declaration, economic news reports in the North American press in recent weeks have shown what the issue is and that by "outside competition" Germany is meant."

As far as Germany was concerned, the question was reaching a solution- she was being pushed out from Brazil by a stronger imperialist power. Because of this, the immediate reaction on the German Bourse (stock market) was worry and anxiety. The German government tried to allay the fears by mentioning the "cotton question". Of course this was the dying ember of hope. Although the German tonnage trade with Brazil is still rather high, her trade in moneys with Brazil has dropped sharply. In Brazil, the dollar has defeated the mark, even though the latter was "compensated".

We may recognize here one of the many contradictions of capitalist economy. Through the dominant capitalist interests in the US, the Rockefeller-Roosevelt group, Germany is tied to the US economically. Quite likely that in the next world imperialist war the US will have the Reich fighting with it for the colonies of Great Britain. Yet this, in spite of the present economic warfare between the US and Germany. Just as the capitalists, who in times of "normalcy" compete with each other and forget their differences when threatened by their joint foe, the proletariat, so the US and Germany, who struggle today, may unite tomorrow to crush for their own economic self preservation, their common enemy, Great Britain.

the fundamental conflict between Great Britain and the United States to which we have alluded now began to assume a dominant position in the Brazilian question. The fierce struggles between these two largest imperialist powers reveals the key to the understanding of the most important imperialist conflicts in contemporaneous capitalist economy. About these two powers will line up the satellites-France, Germany, Japan, according to best economic interests of each. How nonsensical is that thesis, therefore, which counterposes the "democratic" nations to the fascist nations as an antidote toward war. It must be understood that capitalism, the economy, and not fascism or bourgeois democracy the political form of rule is the cause of war.

Therefore, the United States able to secure a foothold in Brazil, was now able to utilize the latter against Argentina, the puppet of Great Britain. It is interesting to note that the nation which objected most vehemently to the Pan-American proposals of F.D. Roosevelt, was Argentina. Now again she was to protest against the policies of the United States.

On August 8, 1937, the announcement was made that the United States was going to lend six destroyers to the Brazilian government, pending approval of both governments. This, as the report stated, was but one more example of the "good neighbor" policy of F.D.R. The United States would still retain ownership of the vessels and they could be recalled any time the U.S. desired them.

On August 10, just two days later, Argentina protested. The United States was disturbing the basis for equality in South America claimed, the puppet of Great Britain. Furthermore, suspicion was expressed by Argentina because the same number of vessels which were being leased to Brazil, were likewise under construction for Argentina in British naval yards. As for the excuse that Brazil needed these destroyers against larger powers such as Japan and Germany, Argentina scoffed and claimed that six ships would be hopelessly inadequate against these powers. "Astonishment" was likewise expressed by Argentina at the Roosevelt-Hull part played in this matter. What was becoming to the "good-neighbor" policy?

Answers were forthcoming from Brazil and the United States in relation to the blast of Argentina on the leasing of the ships. The Brazilian Finance Minister, DE Souza Costa, chided Argentina for becoming excited at leasing proposal. Brazil, he claimed, needed these ships because of her long, unprotected coastline. Further, what had Argentina to fear, since Brazil only possessed about one-half the tonnage of Argentinian sea strength.

Now it was up to the "good-neighbors" to speak their piece. They were indeed amazed at the protests of Argentina. Negotiations with Brazil had been going on for quite a while, and after all, who could doubt the friendliness of the United States to her Latin-American children? Also, displaying its inherent "democratic" nature, the United States was willing to extend this "favor" to any Latin-American nation which might desire it. The latter statement had some good effect anyway. It helped pacify the ire of Chile and others who at first had vehemently opposed the leasing proposal. Of course, Argentina was still dissatisfied.

The protests of Argentina has some basis from her own point of view.

She realized that at this time it would be very difficult for Britain or any other European country to aid her as the U.S. has aided Brazil. This is due to the intense armament programs which the bloody imperialists have undertaken. With regards the European countries because of their lack of basic materials for armaments, any obsolete vessel would probably be used for scrap iron. The equally bloody U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie can carry out this scheme because of her financial strength, relatively speaking, and because of her ability to mobilize almost immediately in time of imperialist war (Mobilization Day, war-mechanized machine plants, etc.). Also the U.S. imperialists have the advantage of an abundant supply of basic war materials.

With the strengthening of the U.S. in Brazil, the world was shocked by the coup d'etat of President Getulio Vargas, on Nov. 11, 1937. Many interpreted this, and falsely so, as an invasion of Fascism in Brazil. A fundamental concept is distorted here, especially by the vulgar Trotskyists and the Stalinists. To these people, a military dictatorship is synonymous with a fascist movement such as we see in Germany or Italy. There is a great difference. The fascist movement rests upon a mass base in the form of the crazed petty bourgeoisie. Fascism in advanced capitalist countries needs a mass base of this type against a large proletariat. Police methods alone do not suffice to hold the working class in check.

In a military dictatorship on the other hand, such as the Vargas regime in Brazil, the bourgeoisie lean for support upon the police, army and navy. Therefore in contrast to the fascist movement, the military dictatorship is relatively less stable. The military dictatorship can be used effectively where there is a small proletariat. Because the military dictatorship does not have a mass base, it must tolerate in a semi-legal form opposition organizations, including those of the working class. It cannot, unlike fascism, cut through every strata of economic life and therefore crush all opposition. These are the important distinctions between fascism, military dictatorships and bourgeois democracy, and we must call things by their right names.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, the report of Frank Garvin, reporter of the New York Times, who reports on Nov. 12th - "The new constitution sets up a somewhat Fascist state, but not entirely. It is more democratic than fascistic. Actually it is nationalistic" (our emphasis). And from the New York Times of the same date: "It begins to appear that while Pres. Vargas has made himself dictator, with the aid of the army and navy, his movement is not fascistic in the generally accepted sense of the term".

Just to indicate how Brazil is not fascistic, for the benefit of childishly naive people, we quote:

"In a move dictated both by humane(?) considerations and a desire to strip the "unitarian" Vargas Government of every possible appearance of Nazism or Fascism, Brazilian authorities have suspended deportation orders that would have returned to Europe 800 to 1000 Jewish immigrants who are illegally in this country".

"In candor it should be stated that Brazil went out of her way in taking this step by even winking at her own immigration laws. These emigres were in the country illegally according to common agreement of government officials and persons interceding on behalf of those to be deported."

For the most part they had come to Brazil on ninety-day tourist visas with ninety-day extension privileges and had simply remained" (N.Y. Times, Jan. 12th-38).

After, the same article goes on to say that the largest group of immigrants were from the Reich itself!

No, Brazil is not fascistic. In reality it is one of the ordinary military dictatorships of South America ruling in the interest of an imperialist power, in this case, American imperialist. And like those that preceded it, it may once more turn to bourgeois democracy. This, by the way applies to fascism too. What is to exclude fascism once more being forced, as a result of a beheaded workers revolution, into bourgeois democracy or some other form of rule of the bourgeoisie? As we saw in Spain, the bourgeoisie can even, if forced to, "adapt" themselves to workers control of factories and collectives. So too, may the Vargas regime (read American imperialism) be forced to rule under bourgeois democracy. It is not excluded.

Vargas is the puppet of American imperialism. It was under his presidency that America ousted Germany from Brazil. And now Vargas has recently come forth with a lot of exchange decrees, which reflect American domination of Brazil. As an example, we may take a typical one, dated Dec. 24 in the N.Y. Times:

"The Bank of Brazil is to distribute the exchange balances available to take care of imports, exports, freight payments, commitments incurred abroad by public utilities, dividends and earnings in general and other remittances. Distribution will be in ration of Brazil's trade balances with the creditor countries, a factor giving the United States a most favorable position. (our emphasis). "Control by U.S. imperialism ideed!"

What road for the American and Brazilian workers crushed under the heel of American imperialism? There is only one solution! The workers of both countries must fight against their oppressors - American Imperialism. The fundamental task for the workers of both countries is to overthrow their oppressors and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat - the solution to the ills and miseries that capitalism brings.

Workingmen of all countries unite!!

You have nothing to lose but your chains!!

You have a world to gain!!!

Jan. 1938

Sidney Stamford

A Statement of Resignation from The Trotskyists

The headlines on the latest issue of the Mexican Trotskyist organ (Dec. 1937 - "IV International") which lies that "Roosevelt calls for a Struggle Against Fascism" exposes the utter treachery and Menshevism of Trotskyism, not only in Mexico, but throughout the entire world. The article under this headline goes on to say, in true Stalinist and Social Democratic fashion, that "we" and the Democratic nations must "strike together" against fascism. And in America, too, the lackeys of social-patriotism, Schachtman-Cannon-Carter, already declare that they are opposed to the espousal of Lenin's concept of revolutionary defeatism in France if it should be allied with Stalinist Russia in the coming imperialist war!

The Trotskyist support of the Spanish bourgeois Loyalist government is the logical outcome of Trotsky's Menshevik war position which he boastfully proclaimed during the last war. Lenin at that time and Leninists today have and always will label such a position "social-chauvinism" with "which Trotsky always justifies opportunism". (See Lenin's "The Imperialist War!!" pp. 197-202 especially). Marxists in the imperialist epoch can only be in favor of workers against bosses, colonial wars and wars of national liberation. Negrin and Franco, however, are fighting to determine which side shall exploit the colonial peoples in Spanish Morocco, which side shall exploit the natural resources, and the workers and peasants of Spain. Whichever side in Spain wins, the workers will lose! The war in Spain is an IMPERIALIST WAR!! Any talk about prosecuting the war, is treachery to the working-class, means going to the side of the class enemy!

The failure of the Trotskyists to understand the necessity of the ever-existing independence of the Marxist vanguard, isolated-Lenin and Bolshevism from Trotsky in the past, and requires Marxists to-day to organizational isolation from Trotsky. This is the reason that Glee, a supporter of the centrist POUM congratulates Trotsky to-day for his present slogan of "Long Live the New POUM", which can only mean the desire to reform this centrist outfit. More than that, the Trotskyites in America, are building an American POUM. That is why they are making overtures to the Lovestoneites and are attempting to gulp in all groups (Field, Weisbord, Ochler) including bureaucrats who split, for who cares what reason, from Stalinism.

The Trotskyites are preparing to enter a Labor Party in the near future, which can only mean betrayal of the class interest. For this reason, the Appeal resolution on "Perspectives" only comes out against a "Reformist" Labor Party. But what about a "genuine" or "revolutionary" Labor Party? The Clarityites, too, could support that!

After being a member of the Trotskyites for 2 1/2 yrs. I do not hesitate to proclaim that I am breaking with Menshevism and joining the MARXIST WORKERS LEAGUE. This organization is the only one which reaffirms the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

TURN THE SPANISH IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR! FOR REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM! IN WAR TIME THE ENEMY IS ONE'S "OWN" GOV'T.
NO SUPPORT TO CARDENAS IN MEXICO IN SPITE OF TROTSKY!
AGAINST ANY SUPPORT OR AFFILIATION TO FARMER LABORISM OR PEOPLES FRONTISM! BOTH MEAN CLASS COLLABORATION! JOIN MARXIST WORKERS LEAGUE!!
William Spencer (Member of DRC of YPSL).

A Split From Weisbordism

A group of comrades, the writer included, have recently split from the New York section of the Weisbord group, (Friends of the Class Struggle) and have joined the Marxist Workers League. The Split took place on the Spanish question.

The character of the Spanish War is adequately dealt with in another article in this issue. We shall confine ourselves below to other positions that Weisbord holds in relation to Spain and other important questions on which he has fundamentally false positions.

A recapitulation of his polemics on Spain conclusively establishes the fact that he never understood the Spanish events. Unable to make a comprehensive analysis of these events, he was led into a maze of contradictions that forged the base for his support of the imperialist war in Spain. And for the sake of further clarity, we must point out the fact the falsifications of Weisbord and other of the same ilk aided in deceiving the masses about the real character of the Spanish events and thereby helped to transform the Spanish civil war into an imperialist war.

The episode where he deals with the question of the POUM entry into the Peoples Front government can serve as our point of departure in retracing his positions. We quote from the "Class Struggle" of Feb. 1937, page 9: "Nor can it be said that even(?) from the workers point of view that either the Catalonian government or the Madrid government was "reactionary". Were these governments engaged in shooting down the working class and putting down the lower orders, were the masses ready to push the revolution forward to socialism and were being kept back by the armed might of these governments, then it might be said that these governments were reactionary in the sense that they were preventing the people from building socialism".

In the above he invents now criteria for determining the class character of the government. Washing away the Marxian concept that the government is the executive committee of the ruling class, he substitutes phrase mongering for Marxism and declares the government not reactionary because it is not actually engaged in shooting down the workers.

That kind of language we do not understand. To us what is decisive is what class the government rules for, what class controls state power, under what property relationships the state functions, and who controls the means of production. That is what determines the nature of the government and not meaningless empty phrases. To accept Weisbord's standards means to consider the Roosevelt government not reactionary. And what about the French capitalist Peoples Front government? They are not shooting down the workers yet - are these governments not reactionary? What about the British capitalist gov't? Or any other capitalist gov't? According to Weisbord none of them are reactionary since they are not shooting down workers! We reject that nonsense and firmly declare that all capitalist governments are thoroughly reactionary.

Marxists cannot fall into a trap on this question as Weisbord does. If the government is not reactionary, then what is its character?

Is it progressive? Or is there something in the middle? There can be nothing in the middle. That is obvious. When he labels the gov't as not reactionary he means that it is progressive. And from this it follows that he supports the gov't. And he does! But before we go into that, let us see what kind of a gov't. Weisbord is supporting. We will use his own words from a previous issue of the "Class Struggle", Sept. 1936 pg. 14:

"Of course the Socialists will not want to transform(?) the government into Soviets. Indeed the Socialists will take over the gov't only in order to prevent the Soviets and the organizations of the workers dominating the scene and deciding events. Rather than allow the Soviets to be formed the bourgeois Republicans will turn Parliament over to the Socialists". (Our emphasis)

First, since when can a capitalist gov't be transformed into Soviets?

That itself is a revisionism of the first class. But let us go on with the other points in the quotation. It is correct as Weisbord pointed out that the Socialists will prevent the formation of Soviets. In simple terms he points out that they will rule in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In other words, the gov't. will be reactionary. In view of this admission, how is it possible for him to make a complete about face and label the same gov't. as not reactionary? Did anything new enter the scene that changed the class character of the gov't? No!! - with the exception of one factor. THE POUM ENTERED THE GOVERNMENT AND WEISBORD AS ITS CONSISTENT SUPPORTER HAD TO JUSTIFY ITS NEW BETRAYAL AND HIS SUPPORT OF IT!!

Consequently, he was forced not only to distort the real character of the government, but to come out openly in support of a reactionary gov't. To quote: "Now it is this concrete situation with which we have to deal when treating with the question whether a truly revolutionary organization should enter the gov't of Catalonia at the present time. We can summarize the situation as follows:

- 1) The gov't is made up overwhelmingly of workers representatives.
- 2) The gov't has the confidence of the masses of workers who believe that through this gov't. Socialism can be established.
- 3) The gov't. is fighting a progressive battle against reaction" (our emphasis, from the Feb. 1937 issue of the Class Struggle)

What do these points mean? The fact that the gov't. is made up of workers representatives does not mean that the gov't rules for the workers. Weisbord explained that above when he said that Parliament would be turned over to the Socialists to prevent Soviets. What workers representatives, we demand to know? The Socialists and the Stalinists? Are they the representatives of the workers or the agents of the imperialists within the ranks of labor? We think the latter is true. The Anarchists and POUM? They are no better!! And if the gov't. has the confidence of the masses, is that any reason for supporting it? The masses trust the gov't because they are deceived. Not entering the gov't, but a sharp break with the Government, can remove this deception. But Weisbord is not interested in exposing the gov't. He concludes that "the gov't is fighting a progressive battle against reaction". (sic) He hands down this lie to the masses and helps keep them deceived.

These distortions logically lead to his un Marxian concept that a "truly revolutionary organization" should participate in a capitalist gov't.

We quote: "Under such circumstances, if the other workers organizations through their united front decide that all workers revolutionary groups should enter the government to carry on the struggle against reaction and for socialism it would be impossible for the POUM or any other organization to stand aside." (our emphasis)

You see, if the Stalinists and Socialists decide that "all workers revolutionary groups should enter" how is it conceivable, from Weisbord's standpoint, to stay out and be left out in the cold? Get in; Get in!! and help in the betrayal. And that's why we think that Weisbord will not be left out in the cold when an American POUM is formed.

He realized however that he would have to throw a smoke screen of left phrases to conceal his support of this betrayal. We quote: "However, it is an entirely different question what a revolutionary party should do once it gets into such a transition government as that represented by the sick capitalist state of Madrid or Catalonia. Of course a truly revolutionary party would expose the capitalist operations of the government of which it was temporarily a part." (Feb. 1937 issue of Class Struggle page 13)

To begin with, what does Weisbord mean by a "transition" government? Is he bringing back the old opportunist slogan of the democratic dictatorship? We thought that only the proletarian dictatorship can be a transition to socialism. He is bringing in a new concept, that before one can establish the proletarian dictatorship one must go through a transition, distinct from an "open reactionary government". If this government that he is talking about is a transition government, then it is therefore progressive. And that is precisely the conclusion he draws.

However he confesses that this "transitional" government is a capitalist one. But that does not prevent him from agreeing that it is correct in principle for a "truly revolutionary party", and we interpret that to mean, a Marxist party, to enter a capitalist government. How is it possible for Marxists to enter such a government? To expose it? How can Marxists expose a government of which they are a part? Are they not responsible for every act of the government? Nay, even more than that! In entering the government they become part and parcel of it and serve only the interests of the bourgeoisie!! Not to understand this elementary Marxian concept is not to understand anything. Weisbord understands nothing! Or much better. He understands but does not want to understand.

Marxists call for the shattering of the bourgeois government and for the establishment of a proletarian state as the only road toward "fighting reaction and building socialism". Weisbord in reality is for fighting socialism and building reaction.

Events forced him to change his mind. The government provided the prerequisite he demanded. It shot down workers and according to Weisbord it became reactionary. How else could it have been? Did he expect it to shoot down the bourgeoisie? Only a fool could be so blind! As a consequence of the May Days, the government suddenly, according to Weisbord became "openly counter revolutionary". To quote: (Class Struggle, Sept. 1937 page 25)

"The Valencia government had already become a counter revolutionary one, in essence, no better than Franco's rule." This Concession that history wrested from Weisbord did not in the slightest degree serve to alter his fundamental errors. Did he explain that without the service of the misleaders such as the POUM, this event would have been impossible? NO! On the contrary! He continued to support the POUM.

"The POUM has played a very clever move in calling for the setting up of a Trade Union Gov't composed solely of representatives of the UGT and the CNT! (IBID pg. 29). This complete capitulation to syndicalism is doubly amazing. In one breath he castigates the trade union bureaucracy, as we shall see below, and in the next breath calls for this bureaucracy, these agents of the bourgeoisie, to seize state power.

How far away from Marxism this is! Not a word about the necessity of a Marxist Party. Not a word about the seizure of power by the workers through soviets, committees, workers militias, etc. Give Weisbord a government of trade union bureaucrats and he will be satisfied. The function of trade unions limited to the economic field. To conceive of trade unions holding state power is to transform them to a political party and therefore erases the necessity of an independent Marxist Party. Trade unions are incapable of taking over governmental functions. Only such a form of organization, (Soviets, committees, etc) which includes all oppressed people and which is formed for the specific purpose of taking part in governmental rule, and these must be led by a Marxist Party, can guarantee a government serving the interests of the workers. Anything else is a prostitution of Marxism, from which Weisbord does not refrain in indulging.

To make clearer this revisionism we will quote further: "The fusion of the CNT and sections of the UGT, especially those under the influence of Caballero and his left socialists becoming ever more realizable. Should such a fusion take place, it would signify that Spain is well on the road to the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". (Ibid pg 29)

Is there no end to this? Not only does Weisbord brazenly distort the role of Caballero and company, but he leaves the illusion that these traitors will establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Did not events themselves prove it? It is false to say that anything can lead towards the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat so long as a Marxist Party is absent. No! to recognize this is to fall into the worst kind of revisionism.

Or perhaps he believes that the P.O.U.M. is capable of leading the revolution? Yes! He does! He calls them "clever". To him they are "the most correct party." To him again "there is no better organization in Spain". Only to Weisbord is it possible that a Marxist program will arise from their poisonous centrism because "they have healthy proletarian elements." These are the reasons he offered for supporting the POUM. That is why he solicited material aid for them, "even if it meant aid for the London Bureau".

Is the above his conception of how a Spanish Marxist party can be born? By supporting "the most correct party"? What is a party that is most correct? Is it a Marxist party or is not? To what degree is it Marxist? And to what degree does it not betray the workers? What does he mean when he says "there is no better organization in Spain"? Does that

mean that it is a Marxist party? Or is it a Centrist party and therefore deserves no support? There could be no better way of deceiving the masses.

And what does the fact that "they have healthy proletarian elements" have to do with their program? Every proletarian party has healthy proletarian elements. Does that mean that we expect it to be a Marxist party? No. If it is we support it. If it is not then we say no support. We do not speak in the ambiguous terms that Weisbord does. Our language is clear to the class. Leave it to Weisbord to throw dust into their eyes. The truth is that there can be no better way of poisoning these healthy proletarian elements than by not calling on them to break with their opportunist leadership which means a split from their party.

Weisbord believes that non-Marxist parties can be reformed. We have the advantage over Weisbord. We are convinced that the non-Marxist Weisbord cannot be reformed and his group. That is why we split.

Let us analyze his "position" on the colonial question. We quote: "They, (the Moroccan colonial people) eagerly kill the Spanish workers who refuse to call for the the independence of Morocco. And in a measure they are correct." (Sept. 1936 issue of the Class Struggle pg. 14).

Does this tripe have anything in common with Marxism? Can he really be serious to say that the colonial people "are correct" when they "eagerly kill the Spanish workers" is to indulge in sadism, not Marxism. Does he condone this killing? Of course he does. In no uncertain terms he declares "they are correct". Let us ask him why they are correct. We quote:

"They are correct to take arms wherever they can get them". None can deny this. But does it mean that they have to "eagerly kill the Spanish workers" when they get the arms? Obviously not. Who gave them the arms? Was it not the Fascists? Their first duty would therefore be to "eagerly kill" the Fascists and not the oppressed Spanish workers. Their duty would be to work for the military defeat of their own government. But instead Weisbord tells them: "They are correct to resist and fight the Spanish government! That is the way Weisbord hopes to achieve freedom for the Spanish Moors!!

His bankrupt prognosis is the following: "They are correct too in their estimation that their real enemy is the existing government, no matter who composes it and that after they defeat the Spanish government, they can defeat the few officers in their ranks who might (?) try to prevent them from obtaining freedom". (Ibid, pg. 14) There is absolutely nothing in this argument that the fascists would be opposed to. More than that, not even the Loyalist bourgeoisie would have opposed it at that time when the character of the war was a civil war of classes. Freedom for the Moors would "defeat the few officers (!) who might (?) try to prevent their freedom.

How can one argue against this? Or better yet, should one attempt it? If one did it would be an insult to the intelligence of the reader. It is better to let it lay.

The mental gymnastics of Weisbord are no accident. Either he denies

events entirely or fails to develop them to the proper conclusions. The fact that "Two counter-revolutionary governments" are now prosecuting a war has not the slightest significance to him in relation to the character of that war. Revising Marxism on fundamental questions has forced him to revise it on the war question. On this question what he is unable to grasp is how it was possible for a civil war to dialectically "grow" into an imperialist war. In view of his consistent confusion one would indeed be surprised if he was able to see it.

The reader too, may deny that the war is an imperialist war. If he does he will be caught in the same contradiction that Weisbord is caught in. To Weisbord, so long as there is Fascism and so long as there is a workers state, there can be no such phenomenon as an imperialist war, with which the international workingclass must break. Weisbord is prepared to deliver the oppressed people to the blood bath that draws ever nearer. He will support the coming world wide Imperialist war as he supports the Spanish Imperialist war. In order to prove this, we will refer to Weisbord's new book "The Conquest of Power". We regret that lack of space prevents us from publishing all his "polemics" of the war question, however, we will select the basic gems that he establishes, which in the minds of all thinking people must prove that he holds no principled disagreements with Stalinism and will support the coming world wide imperialist war. We quote:

"The workers of the countries at war with Russia of course have to follow the line of revolutionary defeatism, fraternization with the Russian forces and insurrection at home. The workers of still neutral countries have another task; they have the task of mobilizing their nation for war against the enemies of the Workers State, since a war against the Workers State is historically a progressive war" (Conquest of Power page 1148, our emphasis).

There you have a sample of jingoism covered up with "revolutionary" phrases!! Weisbord is not satisfied with passive social patriotism. Nothing more and nothing less than "mobilize their nation for war". To fight for markets? No! For the redivision of the world? Weisbord again replies no. You see, Weisbord thinks that capitalist countries will go to war, not for booty, heaven forbid! But for pure humanitarian reasons, in order to defend the Soviet Union. There we have a repetition of the Stalinist concept of "good" capitalist countries and "bad" capitalist countries.

Imagine the most imperialist country in the world, the United States fighting a "historically progressive war"!! Logically, therefore, Weisbord supports that war. The enemy no more is at home, but a la Weisbord, in Germany and Japan. Against this social patriotism, Marxists must once again reaffirm the Leninist slogan of revolutionary defeatism, (to fight for the military defeat of "our" own government) in those countries allied with the Soviet Union and those fighting on the other side.

To cover up his social-patriotism, Weisbord flings out left phrases; "In short where America is conducting a war on the side of the Soviet Union, a war which is historically progressive, in spite of the aims of the American capitalists (!), here it is the duty of the workers not to oppose the war as such, but to fight the method of conducting the war". (Ibid pg.1150)

How deeply has Weisbord buried Leninism on the war question!! To resurrect Lenin's teachings we will take the pleasure in quoting what Lenin had to say on the character of a war: "The social character of the war, its real meaning, is determined not by the location of the enemy troops (as the Social Revolutionaries think, sinking to the vulgar conceptions of an unenlightened peasant). This character is determined by the policy which the war pursues ("war is a continuation of politics") by the class that wages that war and the aims it pursues". To Weisbord, the imperialist aim of American imperialism does not decide the character of the war!! Not the war itself must we oppose, says Weisbord, but the methods of conducting the war. Did you ever hear "logic" like this? Here we have an imperialist country prosecuting a war for imperialist aims, and what conclusions does Weisbord draw? To oppose the war? No! To oppose only the "method of conducting the war". From this we are to gather that Roosevelt does not know how to conduct an imperialist war. Weisbord who went to Spain to study military strategy is ready to compete with the Roosevelt generals and to shew to the millionaires that he is the only one who knows how to conduct the war.

And then follows more left phrases. "Through strikes and physical demonstrations of every sort, the working class must compel the turning over of the war to the proletariat so as to make it a war for socialism...! By saying that the "working class must make it a war for socialism" he is thereby admitting that the war would be an imperialist war. Forgetting the Leninist concept, he conceives of a bright idea of how to "compel the turning over of the war to the proletariat" (as if the working class can compel the capitalists to turn over the war). Let us quote Lenin to show how an imperialist war can be transformed into a civil war.

"The change from imperialist war to civil war cannot be "made", as it is impossible to "make" a revolution, it grows out of a multiplicity of diverse phenomena, phases, traits, characteristics, consequences of the imperialist war. Such growth is IMPOSSIBLE without a series of military reverses and defeats of those governments which received blows from their own oppressed classes". (The Imperialist War pg.199- our own emphasis). Whereas Lenin was unable to conceive how an imperialist war could be transformed into a civil war without "a series of military reverses and defeats", Weisbord tells us that by purely using strikes and demonstrations one can "compel the turning over of the war to the proletariat". But if the capitalist class can conduct a "progressive war" what need is there for the proletariat to "take over" the war? In reality to Weisbord there is none. The works of Lenin which is still alive denies this: "To repudiate the defeat slogan means too revise one's revolutionary actions to an empty phrase or sheer hypocrisy". (Ibid pg.200). One might ask a question: Is there no limit to his nonsense? We will reserve an answer to this question until we analyze Weisbord's "position" on fascism. Again we are forced to quote:

"If we attempt to pass judgment historically upon the fascist movement so as to guide our conduct in relation to it, in short, if we ask ourselves the question whether fascism is reactionary or progressive, we find that the answer is by no means a simple one". (Ibid pg.676).

This is a most astounding formulation. It is difficult for him to

determine whether fascism is reactionary or progressive. This can only mean that it is both reactionary and progressive. We deny that. Any person who thinks from the workingclass view is convinced that fascism is thoroughly reactionary. Why does Weisbord find it so difficult to answer this simple question? Let him tell us.

"If (!) fascism is reactionary it is fundamentally because it has set back the only class capable of moving the world to a higher technique and better relations." (ibid p. 677).

At least he has conceded the "if" in the above. But why is the "if" necessary? "If fascism is reactionary"? It is reactionary! The "if" only confuses. It has no place in a sentence like that. Fascism is fundamentally reactionary! Leave out the "if". We would be justified in using "if", if we said that if Weisbord was a Marxist he would speak in clearer language.

Perhaps in describing the other features of Fascism he will be more precise. And he is! There can be no mistake about the following quote.

"An excellent step has been made by fascism in exterminating the gangsterous rot which was poisoning the working class in the form of the trade union and socialist communist bureaucracy! (!!) (Ibid p. 680).

Very plain! The logic of an idiot! Before he used "if" in questioning the reactionary character of fascism. Now very emphatically he calls it "an excellent step", that fascism has taken in "exterminating the gangsterous rot" of the working class reformist leadership. By whose hands was the "bureaucracy crushed"? Was it liquidated in the struggle towards Socialism? Then it would have been an excellent step. But no. He says it was excellent that fascists did it.

Can this be a mistake? Perhaps he will explain. We continue the quote. (ibid). "By hanging the labor bureaucrat from the lamp-post and exposing his cowardice to ridicule and shame, the fascists have done an inestimable although unconscious(!) service to the working class." This language is too clear.

There can be no mistake about the meaning of this. He is actually serious. He says that "the fascist have done an inestimable although unconscious(?) service in hanging the labor bureaucrat." Was this service unconscious? No. Nothing of the kind. It was deliberate. It was cold blooded murder not only of the "labor bureaucrats" but of the entire working class. How can anyone speak about those atrocities being an excellent step? Only a Weisbord can reason thus.

The reader will recall that he asked whether fascism was reactionary or progressive from the historic sense and found it difficult to answer the question. His arguments eloquently demonstrate why the question for him was so difficult to answer. He has discovered the "progressive (sic!) features of fascism. If it is progressive then it must be supported. This concept is not sophistry but is a fact. Marxists support what is progressive and conduct an intransigent struggle against what is reactionary. But only a counter-revolutionist or a mad man would label fascism historically progressive.

Weisbord moves to a unique conclusion. "Thus have the opportunists and the liberal reformists have been driven only out of the ranks of the

government but out of the ranks of labor as well. (!) From this hard ordeal of fascism there must emerge a new working class, bred by the even more intense contradictions and antagonisms of the future, thrust forward even still more sharply by the exigencies of world war and similar cataclysms, no longer divided as of old by craft lines, national boundaries, economic distinctions, reforms, ideals, etc; but now thoroughly united and welded together under the leadership of a tested and tempered vanguard.

This is the progressive feature of fascism." (sic) (Ibid pg. 681)

Verily this ridiculous assertions is worthy of Weisbord prankism. What pitiful rationalizing. There can be nothing more untrue than to say that a new working class will be "bred" that will be "united and welded together under the leadership of a tested and tempered vanguard." On the contrary, fascism frustrates every independent crystallization of the revolutionary masses. That the masses will arise, goes without saying. But it will never be because of the "excellent" service of the Fascists. In spite of them and against them the new upsurge will take place. Even then it will not mean that they will be "now thoroughly united and welded together." Only a Marxist party can weld them and serve as "the leadership of a tested and tempered vanguard." One cannot guarantee the birth of such a party. In the absence of a Marxist party once again the revolution will be betrayed. What will Weisbord wish then? He has already given us the answer.

He will call for the "setting up of a trade union government." He will wish that the "gangsterous rot" in the "form of the trade union bureaucracy" which poisons the workers" seizes state power. That is what he did in Spain. Then he will call for the fascists to take the "excellent step", unconscious(!) from the standpoint of Weisbord, of "exterminating" the opportunists and liberal reformists. After calling for them to take power he will approve of it when the fascists have "driven them not only out of the ranks of the government but out of the ranks of labor as well." These are but a few threads of the network of contradictions that Weisbord has woven around himself. Such is the penalty of non-Marxism.

It is not surprising therefore that Weisbord comes to the conclusion that he does. "Fascism in all likelihood, therefore represents the last political gasp of a dying social order." (Ibid pg. 682) !!

This is emphatically false. Capital can conceive of much more ruthless ways of oppressing the workers. Leave it to capital to do this if we workers do not overthrow capitalism and establish socialism! What in reality is more correct in Weisbord's statement is that his polemics represent the last gasp of a dying political doctrine that has nothing in common with Marxism. One is inclined to ask: "Wherein does he differ from Stalinism?" It is not difficult to answer this question. A microscope could not detect any differences. Politically he is fused with Stalinism and all the left phrases that he can possibly muster will not distinguish him to the slightest iota from the principle agreements with Stalinism that he holds on all fundamental questions.

When our group split from Weisbordism, in reality we split from Stalinism from whom we thought we had split a long time ago. It took a question as important as the Spanish one to put us on our feet. Workers and revolutionists everywhere have the same opportunity of once again moving

back to Marxism.

However, the road demands two conditions. First, one must make an analysis of the Spanish events from the standpoint of Marxian principles. Secondly, one must uncompromisingly break with whatever shade of revisionism that he at present supports. In reality these two tasks are one. A correct evaluation of Spain must lead to such a break.

It led our group to break with Weisbordism and to join the Marxist Workers League. That was our first step towards Marxism. In the League now we are taking further steps forward in the task of working out a real Marxist program that will clarify the grave confusion in the ranks of the working class. This task is difficult indeed but not impossible. As a matter of fact victory is assured if the right road is taken.

We have taken the right road. The movement has too long been in the hands of Stalinism, Trotskyism, Weisbordism, Oehlerism and all other isms that have betrayed Leninism. The Marxist Workers League undertakes the task of reviving Leninism and to lay the basis for the rebuilding of an American Bolshevik party. All who wish Leninism to be revived must do what the ex-Weisbord group did.

Break with non-Marxism!!

Join the Marxist Workers League and help in the task of working out a Marxist program!! The historic task of our epoch is the rebuilding of the Marxist party as a prerequisite to victory. Only opportunists will reject this concept and we warn that we will reject opportunists.

Down with revisionism!!

Long live Leninism!!!

Bob Golden
Dec. 1937

Correction: page 26 last line should read: have been driven not only out of the ranks.

Dr. F. Program of Marxist Workers League

- I. The Development of American Capitalism:
 - A. Kind of Society in Colonial Period
 1. The elements composing colonial society
 - a) Capitalist form of organization-Merchant class
 - b) Slave holding and capitalist form of agriculture
 - c) Class struggle between small landowners and large, between large landowner and slave, between rising workers and commercial and manufacturing class.
 - B) American Revolution as stimulus to development of capitalism (Interests of growing capitalism and landowners coincided in the Revolution)
 - C) Civil war- result of struggle between growing capitalism and small landowners against slave holding economy.
 - D) The imperialism of the 19th Century in the conquest of territory.
 - 1) War against Mexico
 - E) The new kind of imperialism of the 20th century as distinguished by the rise of finance capital.
 - 1) The rise of monopolies as a result of concentration of production resulting in the domination of finance capital over capital in general (the predominance of the financier over the merchant).
 - 2) The domination of monopolies over free competition.
 - a) Monopolies do not eliminate free competition but exist along side of it and over it.
 - L) Petty-bourgeois dreams of going back to "free" "peaceful" "honest" competition are utopian and reactionary
 - 3) Imperialism emerged as a direct continuation of the fundamental properties of capitalism in general.
 - 4) The development of trusts, cartels, corporations, signifying the imperialist development of capitalism
 - a) Spanish-American War
 - 5) Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private (social means of production remain private property of few)
 - a) Socialization in form, private ownership in content
 - b) Profits go to private monopolists and not to state.
 - 1) State-office boy of finance capital
 - 6) State monopoly- means of guaranteeing income of millionaires in the industry on verge of bankruptcy.
 - 7) State regulates but does not own, except in isolated cases) industries for benefit of whole capitalist class.
 - 8) Monopolies do not eradicate chaos in production
 - a) As long as capitalism exists, there can be no planned economy
 - 9) To repudiate idea of peaceful development of capitalism through the medium of international trusts.
 - a) Against revisionist ultra imperialist theory which claims that international trusts (dividing up markets among various monopolists) can avoid war.
 - 1) Such international agreements are short lived, friction bound to come.
 - 10) Consumers and producers cooperatives cannot usher in socialism but only function within framework of world finance capital (Scandinavian experiences)
 - 11) Imperialism- last and highest stage of capitalism

- F) American capitalism part of world economy developing along the same fundamental lines as other imperialist countries.
- 1) Fascist imperialist countries (Germany, Italy) are not introducing anything fundamentally new as to alter the fundamental economic content of other "democratic" imperialist countries
- G) The World War and the emergence of American capitalism as a dominant factor (creditor nation)
- H) The Anglo-American conflict signifying a struggle for the domination of the world.
- 1) Coming world war will see America and England lined up on opposite sides. The main struggle today is between these two imperialist powers.
- a) Listing the United States as a have power (not in the sense of owning colonies, but in the sense of having economic control) the main struggle consequently resolves itself, not as a struggle between the haves and the have nots, but between the haves and the haveless.
- 1) Rockefeller-Morgan struggle.
- 1) The Roosevelt government supports the Rockefeller group in its struggle against the Morgan group.

.....
The State

- 1) The State
- a) existence of antagonistic classes necessitates the institution of a state which is used by the ruling class to suppress other classes.
- b) Primitive communism- society without classes-oppressing force as state unknown.
- c) Characteristics of a state
- 1) special forces of oppressions such as army, police, courts, etc.
- 2) capitalist state representing minority of population cannot tolerate the arming of the people.
- 3) government- executive committee of ruling class.
- 4) state often tries to fool workers by raising itself up "above classes"
- D) Bourgeois Democracy
- 1) In content- the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in a hidden form.
- 2) has parliamentary system which pretends to represent majority of people.
- 3) Rules in most cases through a democratic republic
- 4) Allows certain liberties to the working class and tolerates working class organizations.
- 5) these liberties granted not by good will of bourgeoisie but because of long struggle on the part of the workers.
- 6) On occasions when threatened by the working class, bourgeoisie will even violate its own "democratic" laws and constitution.
- 7) When bourgeoisie cannot rule in its own name, when it has lost popular support, it often then calls forth the reformists and centrists, who derive their support from the workers, and has them rule for the interests of the bourgeoisie.
- 8) Working class must use all rights and liberties already gained as a springboard for the overthrow of the very same bourgeois democracy.
- 9) Working class must not allow itself at anytime to become defender of bourgeois democracy and its government no matter under what pretense, i.e; in the fight against fascism.

- 10) Distinction must be made between fighting for the democratic rights of the workers and fighting to preserve bourgeois democracy. The first we fight for, the latter not.
- E) Fascism
- 1) The economic system is same as bourgeois democracy- private ownership of production.
- 2) leans for mass support upon the petty bourgeoisie.
- 3) most thorough and uncompromising system of bourgeois reaction.
- 4) annihilates all workers organizations and trade unions or any other independent organization of the masses.
- 5) Based upon destruction of parliamentarism. When economic crisis deepens and as a result of that the proletariat simultaneously rises up, there is an interaction of these two forces and revolutionary situation develops. Because of that, when parliamentary screens no longer suffices to hold workers in check, the bourgeoisie turns to fascism to rule for it.
- 6) Victory of fascism signifying the greatest control and centralization on the part of finance capital of the various institutions of state apparatus, such as executive and administrative bodies of state, army, police. Finance capital through fascism gathers in its hands the educational institutions, press, trade unions, cooperative societies and all walks of life. Such a system penetrates deeply into the masses frustrating every independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein is the gist of fascism.
- 7) Fascism is not necessarily the last phase within the imperialist stage of capitalism. A revolutionary situation can develop as a result of an economic crisis, resulting in the gravitating of the petty bourgeois masses away from fascism. With that development, fascism loses its mass base and becomes a pure and simple military dictatorship. Or another situation can arise. A DEEP crisis takes place facilitating the development of a Marxist party, resulting in a revolutionary situation or a revolution itself. If the revolution fails and the bourgeoisie is not strong enough to reestablish its old fascist regime, it will seek ways to adapt itself to the new situation. What kind of governmental rule it will establish, we cannot foretell. But to say that fascism is the last phase of capitalism, which means that after fascism must come a proletarian dictatorship- that is false.
- 8) Against concept which conceives of fighting against fascism as a separate stage by itself, separate and apart from the proletarian revolution
- 9) American "democratic" capitalism along with other "democratic" capitalist countries aided the coming into power of German fascism.
- F) Military and semi-military dictatorships.
- 1) Not having any mass base but ruling by means of army, navy, police.
- 2) Lack of mass base forces some of the dictatorships to tolerate trade unions, or other working class organizations in a semi-legal or legal form.
- 3) Other bureaucratic military dictatorships are forced to create some form of parliament which it controls, i.e; Poland, Japan.
- 4) Liberal opposition parties tolerated in some cases. In other cases even reformist workers organizations are tolerated in a legal or semi-legal form. i.e; Poland.

- 5) The great distinction between fascist dictatorships and ordinary military dictatorships consists in this:
- a- In a developed capitalist country the suppression of all workers organizations cannot be achieved by police methods. It requires the mobilization of the petty bourgeois masses and pitting them against the working class.
 - b- An ordinary military dictatorship lacking a mass base cannot help but tolerate some opposition and cannot therefore wipe out all independent organizations of the masses.
- G) The Road to Power.
- 1- capitalism cannot be reformed but must be overthrown through revolution.
 - 2- capitalism will never collapse by itself. It must be overthrown by working class. The idea that capitalism without it being overthrown by working class can collapse by itself, is a revisionist one. Capitalism can go on indefinitely unless proletariat overthrows it by insurrection.
 - 3- Treating insurrection as an art.
 - a- distinguishing ourselves from "conspirative revolts", i.e; Blanquism
 - 4- There is no transitional state between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.
 - 5- In backward countries where many of the tasks of the democratic revolution are as yet unaccomplished, the proletariat in coming to power must of necessity have as an ally the poorest peasants, i.e; an alliance between the proletariat and peasantry under the leadership of the working class. Only the proletarian dictatorship in this imperialist epoch can solve all the tasks of the democratic revolution.
 - a- No matter how the revolution in the backward countries start, (agrarian, nationalist uprising) to be successful in carrying out the tasks set for itself, the proletariat must take lead of it and guide it successfully to a proletarian dictatorship.
 - b- the immediate tasks of a proletariat holding state power in a backward country must be to carry out the democratic tasks of the revolution which the bourgeoisie in this imperialist epoch is unable to carry out fully.
 - c- In backward countries where there exists no parliamentary expression of the people, the slogan of a constituent assembly as a democratic slogan is correct and should be raised. (Of course this does not apply to countries which have passed this historical stage. There will come a period in the backward countries when this slogan will be outworn and then we must not use it.
 - 6- In advanced capitalist countries the immediate tasks of the proletariat after having seized power must be the carrying through of the socialist tasks of the revolution.
 - 7- Necessity of Soviets as organs of power and as organs of insurrection. As organs of rule it is a principle. As organs of insurrection, it is a tactic. (A Soviet is the best form of organization for the insurrection. But if circumstances have it that the time becomes ripe for the insurrection and Soviets haven't appeared on the scene, then the Marxist Party, having the majority of workers behind it, can seize power in the name of factory committees, revolutionary military committees, or even in the name of the Party itself for the working class. But

after having seized power, in order to guarantee the freest expression of the masses, the institution of Soviets as the form of workers rule is imperative).

a- Soviets to be established not on geographical basis but on occupational (workers Soviets, soldiers soviets, soviets of agricultural workers).

8- Against the theory of spontaneity (Luxemburg theory) pointing out that an organized insurrection of the masses, led by a Marxist Party, alone can guarantee a victorious revolution.

9- No coalition with the bourgeoisie!!

a- expressing the reactionary role of the social-democratic-Stalinist and centrist coalition bourgeois governments. (Spanish coalition especially)

b- Peoples Frontism- a new name, the old betrayals.

1- It signifies unity of the working class with the bourgeoisie.

H) The Proletarian Dictatorship

1- The rule of the proletariat as a class using state power to forcefully maintain its rule, consolidate it and liquidate the other classes.

2- The economy under this state is transition economy.

3- Inevitability of this state to collapse unless it spreads to other countries.

4- State as transition towards classless society.

5- Within framework of an isolated proletarian state surrounded by world capitalism, the liquidation of classes and construction of socialism is impossible.

6- Proletarian state, representing the rule of the majority over the minority, is therefore in content the most democratic state that ever existed.

7- Necessity of independent Marxian Party to lead class towards establishment of the dictatorship and maintaining it.

Note:

The Marxist Workers League is now busy working out a full program on all important principled and tactical questions. In this issue we are presenting the draft on the Development of American Capitalism and the question of the State. As the organization goes forward we will present drafts on other questions. We ask all workers to study the draft on the two questions and to write in their criticism to this publication. If space allows we will publish the criticisms, thus following out the policy of the Editorial Committee in stimulating open polemics.

Note:

Feb. 1938

The Spark

p.34

Statement of Resignation from the Oehlerites.

Jan. 7, 1938.

Political Committee Revolutionary Workers League:

National Buro, Young Workers League:

The third national convention is now over. I have no information on hand as to the exact happenings at the convention. But judging from the past procedure of the League (the Plenum and the Youth convention) I realize what the line of the League must be. It stepped deeper into the swamp of centrism when it swung its artillery against the left, whom it labels "ultra-lefts" and "defeatists". The opportunist social-patriotic position which the organization adopted on the Spanish question was given a rubber stamp. The bureaucratic and prejudiced attitude of the leadership was taken up by the rank and file (in NY and Chicago) and built up a solid wall against any crystallization toward Marxism. Then this same leadership proceeded to "clean house", expelling the Marxists, who afterwards formed the Marxist Workers League.

In view of all this, I made a serious error (more in the nature of a political crime), in remaining within a centrist outfit and helping to fight against the Marxists on the outside. I made two misjudgements. One, that the position of the RWL on Spain was confused and could still be corrected. Two, that the false position on Spain did not change the character of the organization. It must be made clear that an organization having a false position on Spain cannot be Marxist!!

The inability of centrists to understand new historical phenomena—the transformation of the Spanish civil war into an imperialist war—is known throughout history to be true. These centrists while clinging to archaic patterns, are now attempting to justify their capitulation to the bourgeoisie. After being confronted with the Marxist opposition, these centrists turn their guns against the Marxists (not at all unusual in the history of the movement), and at the same time continue to lay the basis for "left" support to all bourgeois governments.

It was my duty to break with the RWL and YWL at the same time that my comrades, who are now in the Marxist Workers League, did. I tried to reform centrism, while labeling it "essentially Marxist". I now join with my comrades in the Marxist Workers League in the building of a proletarian vanguard and call on revolutionaries everywhere to do the same thing.

For the defeat of the capitalists and their governments—for the victory of the workingclass!!

(signed) Tom Marat
Member of the National Executive Committee
of the Young Workers League.

Feb. 1938

The Spark

page 35

Editor's note: We are publishing this document of comrade Eiffel although we have principle disagreements with him on many fundamental questions. This article, however, deals with the dialectical relationship between imperialist war and civil war with which we express our agreement. The article was written in a form of a letter to Oehler on his return from Spain. It clearly demonstrates the hopeless theoretical confusion of Oehlerism on the most important question of the day—war, aside from pointing out the many contradictions of Oehler. We think that without a theoretical basis as this letter presents, it is impossible to have a sound foundation not only on the Spanish question but of imperialist and civil war in general.

The reader will notice that the close of Eiffel's letter deals with a slender campaign which has been instituted against him by the Mexican Trotskyists. He has been publicly accused of being an agent of the GPU. When he demanded that the Trotskyists prove their charges, they completely, in Stalinist fashion, avoided offering evidence to corroborate their charges. Thus not only Stalinism frames revolutionists but its political bed fellow, Trotskyism.

To further delineate the bankruptcy of the Mexican Trotskyists, the latest issue of their paper, "IV Internacional" contains the following headline: "Roosevelt Calls for Struggle Against Fascism." The content of this article hypocritically warns the workers against American imperialism and at the same time calls for a policy of marching separately and striking together with American imperialism against Italo-German imperialism!! Just like Stalinism, having an opportunist line, has to resort to frameups, so is it the case with Trotskyism.

.....

August 14, 1937

Comrade Oehler:

You say the "Revolutionary Workers League never characterized the Spanish struggle as ONLY an imperialist conflict". In order to settle this question it is necessary to define clearly what we mean by "imperialist conflict" or "imperialist war" (two terms which in this connection are obviously synonymous). You have a mechanical and totally false concept of what we mean by imperialist war and what its dialectical relations with civil war is. You claim that both can exist at the same time, one being "uppermost"; the main "aspect", the other accompanying the former, etc. These very terms (and language has to express our dialectical understanding of a given process) prove that you have not understood the essential relationship between class war and imperialist war; The latter in every struggle within a class society, is only another form of class war, — that form in which the proletariat temporarily has been driven off its class line, so that the class struggle in its actual manifestations has become a one-sided struggle. Thus imperialist war becomes possible only if and when the class struggle in its direct, two sided, open form has been temporarily suppressed, and its transformation into class war (i.e., back into class war) becomes possible only through a total and complete separation from and break with imperialist war. Imperialist war and class war (in the open "two sided" form) cannot exist "side by side", in the sense of your position, but are continuously fighting to replace each other. That is the meaning of the alternative: imperialist war or proletarian revolution. It is or, not and!!! To speak of the "Civil War and the imperialist conflicts in Spain" would be true only if the struggle would be essentially a class struggle, which the

great imperialist powers would try to benefit from in a secondary sense as they did with the Civil War in Russia. But the war in Spain is essentially an imperialist conflict and the only way for the proletariat to "profit" from this is by TRANSFORMING IT INTO OPEN CLASS WAR, which demands a complete break with it. The moment this break begins, class war in the open form and imperialist war formally exist side by side for some time, but only formally, since in reality from that moment on the basis for imperialist war no longer exists. In other words, once the proletariat is back on its class basis, the imperialist war is doomed to yield its place to open class war, -- and even should the proletariat be defeated in the resulting struggle, the essential character of the struggle remains: class struggle.

Now there can be no way of getting around the fact that the Political Committee in the fall of last year had the position that "in the absence of a class party of the proletariat, the Spanish bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie have turned a civil war into a war under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, that is, essentially an imperialist conflict" and that it considered this fact, i.e., the change in the ESSENCE of the war as a "fundamental fact". Am I reading too much into the word "essentially" as we used it then? That question can be settled by one single quotation from that very same article (which, as we said in the introduction had the task "to analyze this fundamental fact" of the change of ESSENCE of the war): "Today... the masses of workers in the militia (are back) in their CENTURY OLD ROLE AS MERE CANNON FODDER FOR THE BOURGEOISIE" (emphasized in the article) If they are "mere cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie" then it is most certainly ONLY an imperialist war". In fact, the very affirmation that the war is "under the leadership of the bourgeoisie" says precisely the same. In other words, what we affirmed at that time was that the class struggle had temporarily been replaced by class collaboration (witness the joint military struggle of the organized workers and "loyalist" regiments, civil guards, police) That is what precisely characterizes "imperialist war". There can't be "side by side" an imperialist war and a class struggle. The moment the latter begins again, the former's base is taken away. But this is not a process of "strengthening one against the other" as one would put your position, but of counterposing one to the other by a frontal attack: Liebknecht's old battle cry: "DOWN WITH THE WAR, LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION". All your confusionist formulations on the "receding" civil war of classes, only helps to conceal the essentially imperialist character of the war in Spain, which we ourselves had theoretically established in one of our official publications and to make the formulation of a revolutionary policy impossible, thereby leaving those sections of the Spanish proletariat leaderless, which instinctively try to break with the war of their masters without of course finding the correct way of doing it: frontal attack vs. the exploiters STATE and its backbone, the ARMY. Their instinctive elementary struggle could be transformed into the beginning of class war and the end of the imperialist war, but only on condition that there is a vanguard organization that tells them what we belatedly found out in October last year but never since had the courage of making the axis of our work: THE WAR WHICH YOU SUPPORT IS IN ESSENCE AN IMPERIALIST WAR, i.e., A WAR OF YOUR OWN MASTERS AGAINST YOU...

Now as to the practical slogan (revolutionary defeatism) which flows from our theoretical analysis of last October; its essence is clearly contained in the article of the Italian Left Fraction of Communism which as an expression of our solidarity with their point of view, we decided to publish not internally but in the "Fourth International". That article said among

other things the following: "From the present situation, in which the proletariat is caught between two capitalist forces, it cannot pass over into an opposite one except by embarking on the road of insurrection. No evolution of the present armies of Catalonia, Madrid, Asturias, etc. is possible. No, what is needed is a sharp break, without the slightest ambiguity." Why on earth did you vote to publish an article with that central line, if you were against it? And how could you be against it if you really had understood the "essentially imperialist" character of the war?? Do you still hold to that position or not? Come clear and stop this unworthy play with words, to hide your confusion in the face of a war which does not fit the historical familiar pattern.

Your formula is that of a "three cornered struggle". Well, the only sense which this formula can have is that of comrade Stamm's, Feudalism-Bourgeoisie-Proletariat, - but this formula has no place in capitalist countries in the decay stage of capitalism. Your "three-cornered" struggle (the democratic bourgeoisie vs. the fascist bourgeoisie and the proletariat vs. both) is nothing but wishful thinking. The only correct way of stating facts, not wishes, is to say that the proletariat, instead of fighting vs. both factions of the ruling class, is fighting with and for one against the other - and you shouldn't forget one additional fact: that the peasants in the main are fighting for the other faction. By misrepresenting facts, i.e., by making believe that the Spanish proletariat is fighting vs. both, you make it impossible to bring about this very thing. While the Spanish proletariat is fighting with and within the state apparatus of the "democratic" bourgeoisie against the "fascist" bourgeoisie, you dare to tell them that they are fighting both! The amount of elementary struggle vs. the bourgeoisie on "their own side" which the workers continue to carry on, not only does not endanger the capitalist regime but in the final analysis strengthens it, since it has as its conscious goal to "intensify the anti-fascist struggle". Only the moment a Marxist vanguard force gives the struggle a definite direction AGAINST THE STATE, ABOVE ALL AGAINST THE CAPITALIST ARMY AND THE CAPITALIST WAR, this struggle becomes a danger and initiates the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into class war. The outburst at Barcelona could have been made that very beginning, if only a handful of comrades had used it to spread the slogan: DOWN WITH THE WAR!! LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!!! But as far as I know there is no group yet in Spain that has understood the essentially imperialist character of the war and the only possible way of transforming it into the proletarian revolution. AS LONG AS THAT GROUP DOES NOT APPEAR ON THE SCENE, THE IMPERIALIST WAR IN SPAIN CAN GO ON INDEFINITELY. As long as even a left force like the Revolutionary Workers League says that the war in Spain is SOMETHING IN ADDITION TO BEING AN IMPERIALIST WAR, and therefore not an imperialist war at all, (this is the only logical position theoretically and practically) there is no danger to the bourgeoisie and its war.

Protected from the left by the kind of "Marxism" to which you resort in your confusion, that war can go on unmolested. Left in the lurch by all its "leaders" the uprisings of the Spanish workers, at the front and at the rear, will go down in blood and despair one after another. And while you go on talking of the Revolution and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as being more "decisive" than the struggle between the exploiters themselves (perfectly correct as an abstract statement) you actually put it off until doomsday. It is precisely your

"revolutionary" perspective, your belief that the present war can "grow over" kind of into class war, by strengthening the one "aspect" of the war against the other, without a fundamental break with the whole war, which makes a revolutionary policy impossible and prolongs the imperialist shambles and the continuously intensifying of the crushing of the proletariat and the peasantry. Only by admitting the imperialist essence of the war, and by excluding all intermediate "solutions" can we work for the Spanish Revolution. Against all the formulations of all the "left" supporters of the war, that the war and the revolution are inseparable, we must pose the fundamental alternative that characterizes our whole historical period: WAR OR REVOLUTION, i.e., REVOLUTION AGAINST WAR.

Now a few more words on the method by which the Trotskyists are fighting against this position, and (unfortunately it has to be said) for yours. Their denunciation to the police quite plainly directed against that "objectively pro-fascist" position of the group here (therefore their shift from "Stalinist agents" to "fascist agents" and their over repeated insistence on my German nationality) and not against any harm our work supposedly does to Trotsky's stay in Mexico. Even in the demagogical manner in which they quoted only a single sentence from Ayala's open letter, nobody can be seriously impressed by the charge especially if one knows their press which continuously screams the name of Trotsky all over the page. Their real attack is neither on this, nor is it only an attempt to eliminate us from the Mexican scene: it is essentially an attack on the position of revolutionary defeatism- a political attack, in other words. Your only defense (or rather counter-attack) could be likewise a political one. But since you on the contrary agree with the Trotskyist evaluation of our position, you really can do nothing else but defend us against the charge of being CONSCIOUS agents of fascism. Thus your "defense" will be at bottom an expression of political solidarity with the Trotskyists. In this connection it is interesting that the Trotskyists in the first public meeting they have held for ages, spoke of "our comrade Oehler" having been arrested by the Barcelona government. Their line is clearly to isolate us here as advocates of the position of revolutionary defeatism, not as representatives of the RWL, with whose fundamental line on Spain they agree.

P. Eiffel
Mexico, D.F.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Editor's note:

This article does not represent the position of the Marxist Workers League. It is an article representing the views of the author. Following out our policy of carrying on discussion in the open, we are therefore inserting this article. An answer to this article follows. The Draft Program printed in this same issue represents the position of the Steering Committee of the Marxist Workers League. As it will be seen, the Draft contains a line diametrically opposed to the position put forward by comrade Gordon.

The Democratic Dictatorship

The living are in the grip of the dead", Marx once remarked, referring to the fact that the world is suffering not only because of capitalist dominion but also because of a lack of capitalist development. To us, in the United States, capitalist rule means the constriction of productive forces and a violent development of the contradictions between the social mode of production and the system of appropriation. In the United States, the political conditions are present for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship although even here, the country is burdened with remnants of feudalism, especially in agriculture. But to the peoples of the east and Africa, capitalist rule will be a big step forward. In these lands, industry is strangled by feudal forms and imperialist control. Agriculture is hardly emerged from the middle ages. The result is that we, proletarian revolutionists of the twenty century, are faced with problems similar to those that faced Marx and Engels in the nineteenth century. "The social revolution," Lenin pointed out at the second congress of the CI, "can be accomplished only in an epoch that embraces the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a whole series of democratic and revolutionary, as well as national liberation movements, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations". From this it is plain that the party that does not adopt a correct attitude and approach to the democratic revolution can never be the party of the socialist revolution. Our general tactics in the democratic revolution are conditioned by our determination to represent the future of the proletarian movement in its immediate struggles. It follows that the first condition for a successful utilization of the revolution is the absolute independence of working class organization and policy. Our principle aims in the revolution are: (1) the arming of the workers, (2) the exposure of bourgeois democracy and the destruction of its influence on the workers, (3) the creation of a power which will be as hard on the bourgeoisie as possible and will clear the way for the proletarian revolution. Marx pointed out long ago that the bourgeoisie must first have its turn before the Communists could hope to permanently establish itself in power, but "it does lie in their power to make it as difficult as possible for the petty bourgeoisie to use their power against the armed proletariat and to dictate such conditions to them that the bourgeois rule will beforehand carry within itself the germ of its own destruction, so that their displacement later by the rule of the proletariat will be made considerably easier".

What will constitute a real victory of the democratic revolution? Marx and Lenin called on the workers to encourage the revolutionary terror and far from opposing the so-called excesses, they must take over the leadership of the masses and direct the terror.

At every point of the struggle, the workers must counterpose their demands to those of the bourgeoisie. They must drive the bourgeois democratic proposals to the extreme and transform these proposals into direct attacks on the whole capitalist system.

And most important of all--- "They must simultaneously erect their own revolutionary workers government hard by the new official government, whether it be in the form of executive committees, community councils, workers' clubs, or workers' committees so that the bourgeois democratic government not only will lose its immediate restraint over the workers but on the contrary, must at once feel themselves watched over and threatened by an authority behind which stand the mass of the workers." (Marx: Address to the Communist League)

Here in a few words is described the very role which was to be played after the February Revolution in Russia by the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies. It is plain that Marx is not calling for the proletarian dictatorship. He is calling for the establishment of a power which will watch over and threaten the bourgeoisie, which will drive the revolution to the extreme, which will prepare the ground for the proletarian revolution. In this power which Marx describes above, Lenin saw the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship."

In 1905, the Third Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party proposed in the struggle against tsarism, the slogan "For a provisional revolutionary government" and had decided that under certain conditions, it was permissible for Marxists to join such a government, even as a minority. The Mensheviks and Trotskyists immediately raised a howl. It is absolutely impermissible, they howled, for Marxists to join a bourgeois government. This they declared was treason to the working class. Yet it was this group of too, too pure Marxists who today openly announce their support to "rotten bourgeois democracy" while it was the Leninists who understood bourgeois democracy and at the proper time, overthrew it. In answer to these righteous "Marxists" Lenin proceeded to analyze the aim of his party in the revolution. "A decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism", he wrote, "is the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of proletariat and the peasantry"

"By its origin and fundamental nature," he wrote, "such a government must be the organ of the people's rebellion." Lenin continuously emphasized that the revolutionary democratic dictatorship does not rely on parliamentary votes of confidence, but on the arms of a people in revolt. To the Mensheviks any outcome of the revolution constituted a victory so long as the bourgeoisie took the power in its hands. But ~~for~~ Lenin strove to press the revolution forward, to conquer as much ground for the workers as possible. He had no illusions as to the probability of this victory. He saw the liberals with their Menshevik tail preparing a bargain. "This also", he said, "will be a 'bourgeois revolution' but it will be a half-baked, mongrel revolution." But if Marxists do not stand aloof from the bourgeois revolution, if Marxists fight in the bourgeois revolution, they must also strive to lead and not only to lead but to win a complete victory in the bourgeois revolution. And this complete victory is the revolutionary democratic dictatorship.

"And such a victory will assume the form of a dictatorship, i.e., it is inevitably bound to rely on military force, on an uprising, on the arming of the masses, and not on institutions established by 'lawful'

or "peaceful" means...but of course it will be a democratic, not a socialist dictatorship. It will not be able (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism. At best it may bring about a radical redistribution of the land to the advantage of the peasantry, establish consistent and full democracy including the republic, eliminate all the oppressive features of Asiatic bondage, not only of village but also of factory life, lay the foundation for thorough improvement in the position of the workers, and raise their standard of living, and last but not least--carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe." (Lenin: Two Tactics)

But you are making a coalition with the bourgeoisie, the Trotskyists cried out, and if you desire to maintain the coalition you will be afraid to scare the bourgeoisie away by radical proposals. Lenin replied, "...the Russian Revolution will assume its real sweep and will really assume the widest revolutionary sweep possible in the period of bourgeois democratic revolution, only when the bourgeoisie deserts it."

But how long can the coalition last? Where does the break come? "Will", answered Lenin, "may be united in one respect and not united in another. The absence of unity on questions of socialism and the struggle for socialism does not prevent unity of will on questions of democracy and the struggle for a republic...Beyond the boundaries of democracy there can be no unity of will between the proletariat and the peasant bourgeoisie. Class struggle between them is inevitable...Like everything else in the world, the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry has a past and a future. Its past is autocracy, serfdom, monarchy and privileges. In the struggle against this past, in the struggle against the counter revolution, a united will of the proletariat and peasantry is possible for there is unity of interests."

It is an old legend of the Trotskyites that after March 1917 Lenin surrendered to the "Permanent Revolution" and gave up the old slogan of the "democratic dictatorship". This is a lie. Lenin saw that the democratic revolution was far from being completed but he also saw that the petty bourgeoisie had sold out, that they were not striving for the completion of the revolution, that they were no longer revolutionary, that they carried on no real struggle against the war, etc. But it is especially important to note, that even under the new conditions, he did not reject this slogan. Indeed he carefully left the door open for its active revival. In April he wrote, "He who now speaks of 'revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' only is behind the times, is therefore in practice on the side of the petty bourgeoisie and against the proletarian class struggle." (our emphasis) Lenin does not reject the slogan absolutely. A real master of the situation before him, he sees all the political possibilities but he knows that his tactics must be drawn not so much from what is possible, as from what is real and practical. He does not condemn the slogan of the democratic dictatorship but condemns those "old Bolsheviks who only spoke of it, who did not understand the changed class relationships, who sacrificed living Marxism to a petrified formula."

In present day society, hundreds of millions of people are living in countries where native capitalism hardly exists or where its growth is strangled by feudal and foreign imperialist oppression. Two years ago, Italy conquered Ethiopia. Today, Japanese armies are engaged in warfare

for the domination of China. In the Philippines, poorly armed tribesmen are in revolt against Yankee rule. British airplanes are bombing defenseless villages of India which dare to protest against England's "protection." Riots and individualist terrorism flare up in Palestine. The Peoples Front government of France sends troops and ships to crush popular insurrections in Syria and Indo-China. How important are the problems which these facts present can be judged by the fact that thousands of Moors are fighting with Italo-German imperialism in Spain, thinking they are fighting for independence.

The colonial and semi-colonial masses call for aid and leadership. It is our duty to supply this aid and leadership. It is the fulfillment of this duty which constitutes the historic significance of our struggle for the theory of the "democratic dictatorship."

What do the Trotskyites have to say? To the Moors who have risen, arms in hand, against American imperialism-- to the Indians who are being slaughtered by British bombers-- to the self-sacrificing Porto Rican bourgeois revolutionist-- to the Ethiopians who are still untamed by Mussolini's executioners-- to all the millions of oppressed in the backward countries, to the non-proletarian revolutionists of the world? "Oh!", says Major General Itzak, "nothing doing here for you...You, colonial masses, you are too amorphous, you cannot play an independent role. All hope abandon." What has the Trotskyite to propose? Either adventurism, sectarianism or capitulation to the class enemy.

The Ethiopian war exposed the real stripe of these revisionists. Trotsky and Stalin both gave vehement support to the Lion of Judah, Emperor Haile Selassie. They both "forgot" to mention the oppression and misery of the enslaved masses but advocated a line of tail-endism to the monarchy, which was itself a tail of English imperialism. Oehler tried to be a more consistent "permanentist". Seeing no hope for independent action from the non-proletarian Ethiopian people, he called on the Italian workers to establish Soviet Ethiopia. Field went him one better and issued the slogan of an Ethiopian Dictatorship of the Proletariat. How left these fakers can sometimes sound, yet how empty and impotent are these slogans. Yes, the Trotskyites can formulate many deep questions and proposals. They can make profound statements about the complications in the epoch of imperialism, etc. Lenin said long ago about such people, "...we get ridiculous and vain efforts to be profound, on the one hand, and on the other hand, we get a description instead of a slogan, a sort of melancholy looking backward instead of a stirring appeal to march forward. We get the impression not of virile people, eager to fight for a republic here and now, but of fossilized mummies."

For years the views of Marx and Lenin have been subject to monstrous distortions and adulterations. Listen to the Stalinists. Under the cover of Leninism they practice the vilest class collaboration. They use the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship" as an excuse for servility for the class enemy. While Trotsky for more than a decade has been able to put over his line on our movement under the cover of falsifications and glossing over of differences. For years Trotsky has pointed out Stalinism to us as an example of the evil consequences of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The result has been a series of splits in our tendency of the labor movement. The result has been that we are faced today with the task of reconstructing Marxism-Leninism against the triplet enemies in the working class movement-Stalinism, Social Democracy, and Trotskyism.

Harry Gordon

Discussion Article Against the Democratic Dictatorship.

"The old Bolshevism should be abandoned", replied Lenin to Kalinin at a meeting of the Petrograd City Conference of the Russian Bolsheviks. It was Kalinin, Kamenev and others of their ilk who accused Lenin of going back on everything he taught before. In this accusation they were correct. The question at heart was the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Comrade Gordon, unfortunately, is not even presenting Lenin's point of view correctly, as wrong as it was. To put the question on the correct axis and not on the axis Gordon has it, we will therefore review some of Lenin's writings to first establish the position of Lenin and then to argue against it. As to Gordon's article, we will touch that separately. Gordon is simply borrowing some of Lenin's points and making out of it a new line by itself, which even Lenin would have had to reject.

We quote from the Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy (Bolshevik Party) page 80: "The struggle is being waged principally around the feudal latifundia, which are the most outstanding embodiment and the strongest mainstay of the survivals of serfdom in Russia. The development of commodity production and capitalism will inevitably put an end to these survivals. In this respect, Russia has only one path before her, that of bourgeois development."

As it seen, Lenin's main interest is to get Russia out of the slumber of the dark and backwardness. The central object which confronts him is the need of eradicating the feudal latifundia and the remnants of feudalism. This task he assigns to two classes, the peasantry and the proletariat. He sees the liberal bourgeoisie working out a compromise with the feudal regime, a compromise which he says will mean a "half-baked" revolution. To offset this compromise, to lead the democratic revolution to its end, he therefore puts forward the slogan of the democratic dictatorship, a dictatorship which, he says, "will not be able to affect the foundations of capitalism" (Two Tactics by Lenin) but will on the contrary "not weaken, but strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie" (Resolution on Provisional Government of the Third Congress)

There are therefore two ways, according to Lenin, in which the bourgeois democratic revolution can proceed. One way is "the bourgeois evolution of the landlord type", the other, "the bourgeois evolution of the peasant type." The former, says Lenin, "implies the utmost preservation of bondage and serfdom (remodelled in a bourgeois fashion), the least rapid development of the productive forces and the retarded development of capitalism." And the second type? "The second type implies the most rapid development of the productive forces and the best conditions of existence for the mass of the peasantry possible under commodity system of production."

Before proceeding to analyze the falseness of Lenin's old position, we must divert for a moment to analyze the big difference between Lenin's ideas and those of Gordon.

Lenin was confronted with a situation in Russia where the feudal nobility was in control of state power. Seeing the liberal bourgeoisie preparing a compromise with tsarism, he therefore concluded that "the

Russian Revolution will really assume the widest revolutionary sweep possible in the period of bourgeois democratic revolution, only when the bourgeoisie deserts it."

Posing the question as he did, Lenin was bound to fall into errors. He allotted the peasantry an independent role in society, independent of the bourgeoisie and the working class. Who then would seize power if the bourgeoisie deserts the democratic revolution? Not the proletariat!!! That was not Lenin's idea, for that would not "strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie." Lenin was of the opinion that the peasantry could seize power and carry the democratic revolution to its end.

"That is why the bourgeoisie is incapable of carrying the democratic revolution to its ultimate conclusion, while the peasantry is capable of carrying the revolution to the end; and we must exert all our efforts to help it do so."

Such a line carries with it the idea that the proletariat is not to be the guiding force of the revolution, but is to aid the peasantry to complete the democratic revolution, that is, to put itself at the tail of the petty bourgeoisie. It is no wonder that Stalin and Kamenev who followed out the logic of Lenin's old line landed up at the tail of the petty bourgeoisie. Only when Lenin said that "the old Bolshevism should be abandoned" was he able to pave out a correct path.

Gordon might object: "You are lying. Lenin never said that the proletariat should be the tail to the peasantry." But if one is to use logic, and that is all we demand of Gordon, one must ask himself: if the proletariat is to lead the peasantry, where shall it lead them to? To a bourgeois dictatorship? Gordon will reply in the negative. To what then? To a democratic dictatorship, is the answer we will get. What will this dictatorship be in content? And now we won't bother any more Gordon, but we will go back to Lenin for the answer: "Here our path lies not from autocracy to a republic, but from a petty-bourgeois democratic republic to socialism." (Two Tactics, page 71)

It becomes clear that what Lenin was after was a petty-bourgeois dictatorship, or as Gordon would say, "a power which will watch over and threaten the bourgeoisie." Have a laugh, gentlemen!! The petty-bourgeoisie, which is tied to the big bourgeoisie by so many bonds and threads and whose existence would be endangered without capitalist property relationships, will be "a power threatening the bourgeoisie"!!! Could anyone have invented anything more absurd than such a formula as Gordon has?

Lest we forget the big difference that exists between Gordon's position and Lenin's, we must right now take account of it. Lenin, as we have seen, brought up his formula of the democratic dictatorship as a means to overthrow the feudal autocracy and "most rapidly develop the productive forces...under commodity production" so as to prepare the conditions for the socialist revolution. Gordon takes a hold of Lenin's old "petrified formula" and resurrects it today under different conditions entirely. Gordon would have us adopt this formula for India. Does he at least know the conditions in India? Does he know that in India the "democratic" bourgeoisie shares power with the British imperialists? He doesn't mention that fact. And more important. Does the feudal nobility control

state power as they did in Russia? Obviously not! Wherein therefore does the democratic dictatorship fit in? What will it accomplish? Gordon's answer would be that it would eliminate the remnants of feudalism prevailing there. And precisely this question touches the crux of the matter.

Can the national bourgeoisie in this imperialist epoch of declining, decaying capitalism solve the tasks of the democratic revolution? Gordon answers, yes. We answer, no!! Imperialism controls the world and affects every nook and corner of the globe. When it decays in England it decays in India. When it decays in America it decays in Mexico. Capitalist economy is a world economy and not a sum of similar national parts. Even were the national bourgeoisie to come into power in India it could not solve any of the basic tasks of the democratic revolution. It could not give land to the peasants. And most important of all, it "could not develop the productive forces"!! International capitalism in this decay stage of capitalism is incapable of developing the productive forces and therefore the national bourgeoisie of the most backward undeveloped country is incapable of moving capitalism forward. Gordon's line is based precisely on the idea that within the framework of capitalism, not only the tasks of the democratic revolution can be solved but the further development of capitalism is possible; two things which are tied up to each other.

To further illustrate the difference between the line of Lenin, which itself is false, and the line of Gordon, one simply has to review the thesis of the Second Congress of the Communist International on the Colonial Question. There is not even a mention in it of the democratic dictatorship!! Does this not blast to pieces Gordon's insistence that Lenin never gave up the slogan of the democratic dictatorship? It is well known that Lenin took an active part in the sessions of the Second Congress. Most likely, Lenin even wrote the theses on the Colonial question. Why does the Theses not contain one word about the democratic dictatorship? Here is what the Theses of the Second Congress said:

"But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist Parties which will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and to the establishment of Soviet Republics. Thus the masses in the backward countries may reach communism, not through capitalistic development, but led by the class conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries." (our emphasis)

Not one word about the democratic dictatorship in this Thesis!! Instead we get a call for the backward countries to establish Soviet Republics. Lest Gordon not understand the meaning of the above lines, we will take the pleasure of quoting one more from the same Thesis:

"Only a union of Soviet Republics can bring salvation to the dependent and weak nationalities under present international conditions." Do these lines have anything in common with the line of Gordon, who proposes the further development of capitalism as the best solution for the colonial masses?

Lenin at the second Congress took the floor and defended this Thesis. How did Lenin defend the Theses? Here is what he said: "The Communist International must establish and give theoretical basis to the assumption that, with the aid of the proletariat of the leading countries, the

backward countries can pass to the Soviet system and, through definite degrees of development, to Communism, avoiding the capitalist stage of development." (our emphasis)

Gordon does not even take this point into account. According to him, "capitalist rule will be a big step forward" to the Peoples of the East and Africa. You see, the Belgian Congo wild natives will have to go up the ladder; first to feudalism, then capitalism, and then proletarian rule. "In these lands industry is strangled by feudal forms and imperialist control," says Gordon. So what is to be done? A proletarian rule? He does not even think of that! The native bourgeoisie (and he makes it an axiom that in every country the native bourgeoisie will fight imperialist control) will institute "free" capitalist rule, thus washing away all feudal forms and imperialist control. Again, he brings forward the Stalinist concept of treating with the specific economy of the country not from the standpoint of world economy, but from its individual, isolated one. It is easy to foresee that if comrade Gordon does not correct himself on this question, he must land up in the camp of those who believe in "socialism in one country". He has already laid the premise for that.

In an article entitled "The Awakening of Asia", written in 1913, Lenin makes the following statement: "World capitalism and the Russian movement of 1905 have completed the awakening of Asia. Hundreds of millions sunk and demoralized in a mediaval stagnation have awakened to a new life and to the struggle for the elementary rights of humanity... The awakening of Asia, and the beginning of the struggle for power among the leading proletariat of Europe, herald the new period of world history which is opening at the beginning of the twentieth century." (our emph.)

What thought is contained in these lines? That the imperialist epoch fully developed the backward countries along capitalist lines. When we say fully we mean as far as imperialism could allow. It therefore stands to reason that any further development of the backward countries can only be undertaken, not by the national bourgeoisie, which even if it wanted to, it cannot, because of its subordination to the imperialist world, but by the proletarian revolution. Let Gordon point out to us in which backward country in the world are the feudal lords control state power!

Comrade Gordon is as yet undecided as to whether the slogan for a democratic dictatorship holds good for China. Why this indecision? Because he is well aware that the national bourgeoisie in China made its democratic revolution as far back as in 1911. But he is confronted with facts, and facts are stubborn things, that Chinas burdened with remnants of feudalism. What better democratic dictatorship could there have been in China than the "good old days" of Sun Yat Sen? Why didn't this government solve the tasks of the democratic revolution? Not because Sun Yat Sen was a vacillator. No! Because in this decline stage of capitalism it is impossible for any bourgeois gov't. (and the democratic dictatorship is a bourgeois gov't., or better said, fundamentally a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) to elevate the country to the old blooming days of capitalism. Witness the case of Mexico. Is it not burdened with remnants of feudalism? How solve the democratic tasks in that country? It is strange that for Mexico, comrade Gordon thinks that the slogan for the democratic dictatorship is opportunist. Why? He might answer that there the national bourgeoisie is in power. Wherein therefore

is the difference between a country in which the national bourgeoisie is in power and a country like India in which the national bourgeoisie shares power? Why, we demand to know, does the democratic dictatorship apply to India and not to Mexico?

Once more we are diverting from the central point. We accomplished, however, one thing- we have shown the great difference between Lenin's ideas and those of Gordon. But it is precisely from Lenin that Gordon borrows heavily; so we must return to analyze Lenin's fundamental error.

It will be remembered that just like Gordon, also Lenin conceived that the tasks of the democratic revolution could be solved within the framework of commodity production. We quote from Two Tactics, page 84:

...for only a completely victorious revolution (the democratic dictatorship-our explanation) can give the peasantry EVERYTHING in the sphere of agrarian reforms- everything that the peasants desire, of which they dream, and of which they truly stand in need (not for the abolition of capitalism as the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" imagine, but) in order to raise themselves out of the mire of semi-serfdom, out of the gloom of oppression and servitude, in order to improve their conditions of life as far as possible under commodity production."

Basing himself on the experience of the petty-bourgeois Jacobin dictatorship of 1792, which smashed the remnants of feudalism and completely cleansed French society of the old feudal rubbish. Lenin conceived of such a dictatorship coming into existence in Russia. Where did he err? His error consisted in not making a sharp distinction between the period of developing capitalism and the period of imperialist decay of capitalism. What other error? In taking what was an isolated exception and trying to make a general line out of that. It was precisely his failure to understand the reasons as to what made possible the Jacobin dictatorship, that he fell into such a deep error, which we consider, not as Trotsky says, wrong in formulation, but false in content.

The Jacobins supported themselves upon the city democracy, which was composed of small masters, assistants, artisans, and the whole city population engaged in handicraft production. The petty bourgeoisie was able to gather all these diverse elements and lead them in a revolt which completely cleansed French society of feudalism. After it had accomplished its task, the big bourgeoisie came to rule. The error of Lenin consisted in comparing the proletarians of today with the French revolutionary Jacobins. In this advanced stage of capitalism, there is no city democracy capable of leading the rest of the people behind it. The leadership therefore falls to the proletariat. Where should it lead to? If the proletariat leads, it can only be towards a proletarian rule.

The peasantry is incapable of solving its own historical problem by itself. It cannot lead but must follow. A few words from Lenin, after he already corrected himself, will suffice to disprove not only Gordon's present line but also Lenin's former concepts:

"All political economy- if one has learned anything at all from it- the whole history of the revolution, the whole history of political development during the nineteenth century, teaches us that the peasant goes either with the worker or with the bourgeoisie. If you do not know this,

I would like to say to such citizens...just reflect upon the development of any one of the great revolutions of the eighteenth or nineteenth century. It will tell you why. The economy of capitalist society is such that the ruling power can only be either capital or the proletariat which overthrows it. Other forces there are none in the economics of this society." (Volume XVI, page 217) But citizen Gordon doesn't know this simple fact.

The old concept of Lenin which Gordon has resurrected, and of which Lenin remarked, "it is dead...all attempts to revive it will be in vain", bases itself precisely on the premise that no socialist revolution is needed to solve the tasks of the democratic revolution. "...when the peasantry has separated itself from the bourgeoisie, when it has seized the land and power against the bourgeoisie- then there will be a new stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution." As we see here, Lenin speaks about the peasantry seizing the land and political power against the bourgeoisie, that is, assigning the peasantry an independent role in society. It must be noticed that to Lenin there are two distinct bourgeois revolutions; one in which the big bourgeoisie seizes power for itself, and the second one in which the peasantry takes over power and solves the tasks of the democratic revolution. With Lenin, therefore, it wasn't a question of the bourgeois revolution growing into a proletarian revolution. He conceived of a long stage of capitalist development for Russia. That development would, according to Lenin, advance the development of productive forces and thus create the conditions for a socialist revolution. In this, history has completely proven Lenin's concept to be false.

As late as April 1917, Lenin was still groping in the dark and trying to somehow reconcile his old ideas with the new conditions. In one breath he spoke of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers representing a new kind of a state or, in Lenin's words, "a Commune State" and in another breath spoke of the Soviets as representing the democratic dictatorship. An example of this can easily be supplied by giving one long quotation from "Letters on Tactics":

"He (Kamenev) reproaches me, saying that my line "builds" on the immediate transformation of this (bourgeois democratic) revolution into a Socialist revolution.

"This is not true. Not only do I not "build" on the "immediate transformation" of our revolution into a socialist one, but I actually caution against it, when in Thesis No. 8, I state: "Not the introduction of socialism as an immediate task..."

Lenin here confuses the introduction of socialism with the socialist revolution. Kamenev correctly takes Lenin to task and declares that if Lenin stands for a Commune State, then the only thing it could mean is that the second revolution would be a socialist revolution.

"The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers Deputies...is therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" And in another breath he says: "Life has interlocked the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The next stage is the dictatorship of the proletariat." While denying that the next revolution will be a socialist one, he at the same time affirms that the "next stage is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

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